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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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A DEFINITION OF CULTURE

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● *Culture is all behavior mediated by social symbols.* "Behavior" means "activity" or "movement"; "mediated" means "affected by," "involved in," or "associated with"; "social symbol" means anything that "stands for" or "refers to" something else (referent) for two or more organisms so that each responds to its own response to the symbol as it responds to the others' responses to the same symbol. "Response" means "behavior."

A few implications of this definition and its defined terms will be discussed briefly. Culture is a special type of behavior, or movement. This is consistent with the widely accepted view that every object in the universe is constantly in "molar" and "molecular," or external and internal, motion. Stones, stars, and men are equally good illustrations. Culture, like all other natural phenomena, is a form of motion, or energy, but culture is limited by definition to the movements of objects (organisms) which exhibit "behavior mediated by social symbols." Hence, no physical motion and not all behavior of organisms is culture. Probably most human behavior, in terms of countable units of motion such as heartbeats, muscle twitches, molar movements, all genetically and many culturally conditioned responses to external and internal stimuli, et cetera, is not cultural. It may seem paradoxical that all culturally conditioned behavior is not culture. Most of it probably is—but only when it is mediated by social symbols. A man responds differentially to variations in solar radiation, but to call such behavior astronomical would be

comical. To call a man's thermal response to a steam-heated room cultural would be just as unrigorous, but "Whew! It's hot!" is cultural behavior because it is mediated by social symbols.

Suppose a man who never has heard "door," "open," "in," et cetera, turns the knob to the left and enters a room. Suppose he repeats these acts frequently and associates them with certain signs, gestures, or sounds. Here is "learning," conditioned responses, symbols, and even some relation to the products of culture—room, door—but the behavior is not culture, because it is not mediated by *social* symbols. If social symbols are associated later with the acts, the behavior becomes cultural. The actor's private symbol, "ub-glub," (for door) becomes a social symbol as soon as at least one other person responds to it as the actor does; "ub-glub" is now a synonym for "door," and any behavior mediated by "ub-glub" and/or "door" is cultural. This is the simple sense of Mead's insistence that this kind of behavior is the essence of the social act, meaning, and communication. If *A* and *B* respond similarly to the same symbol and if each responds to his own response as the other does, if each can be at the same time both subject and object, we have the necessary mechanisms for "role-taking," which is the distinguishing characteristic of minded, cultured organisms. Apparently, this kind of behavior is possible only for organisms constructed somewhat like man. This contemporaneous, self-other behavior seems to be possible only through the mediation of social symbols.

The minimum requirement for culture, then, is the social symbol mediated *interaction* of a dyad. Such dyads are usually human beings. If it can be shown that the interaction of termites or dogs is mediated by social symbols, the case for subhuman culture would be proved. It is quite possible that such subhuman culture exists, but the present evidence for it is not very convincing. It has not been shown, for example, that "social" insects take one an-

other's roles and share experience by social symbol mediated communication. If they "communicate" at all, it seems to be by common responses to similar signs or situations. They are "social" only in the sense that they live in cooperative relations with one another, in organized communities, and behave so as to produce results which would be impossible without such collective behavior. Mere collective behavior is not an index of culture; whether it is culture or not depends upon what mechanisms are involved in the cooperative action. It is not at all necessary to assume that all the behavior of "social" insects or animals is "instinctive" or genetic. It would be an obvious error to do so. There is considerable and rapidly increasing evidence that both social and nonsocial insects and animals "learn," that they even learn collective habits, and that their range of capacity to learn, their I.Q.'s, if you please, is as great as the I.Q. range of human beings.

Some evidence suggests that dogs, horses, and other animals are cultured according to our definition. This is almost certainly true of some human-ape dyads. In such cases, the animal member might exemplify subhuman culture, but the writer knows of no convincing evidence that any animal which has learned a trick from a man has ever taught it to another animal by the use of common social symbols, i.e., has developed the role-exchange behavior, the subject-object responses, which characterize human culture. Some of the apes may do so, but this has yet to be shown convincingly. Responding similarly to a sign, learning differential responses either individually or collectively, is not any proof of culture according to the present definition. Many, probably all, animals do this — fishworms, fishhawks, and fishermen—but this is not culture. There must be symbolic sharing, *interaction*, not mere *reaction* even if it be collective, actual other-role taking and sharing, before we have culture as here defined.

While the definition does not exclude the possibility of subhuman culture, the writer believes there is little reason to infer it except when one of the parties to the interact is a social symbol using human being. Even in such cases, the behavior of the animal probably is not cultural in the most rigorous sense of our definition. A writer named Bain published an article in 1929 which he unwisely called "The Culture of Canines." It is probable that the anti-Negro behavior of the dog, obviously learned from his master or other whites since the dogs of Negroes "love" their masters, was merely a negatively conditioned response to a sign (color or, more probably, smell). This might even be a symbol-response for the dog and still not indicate that the dog "had" culture by the present definition. If there were some rudimentary role-exchange between the dog and the master (which is not impossible), the behavior of the master would almost certainly be cultural, while that of the dog, which lacks the two-wayness, the subject-object quality of true cultured or minded behavior, probably should be called semi-, pseudo-, or proto-cultural behavior rather than true culture. It is almost certain that the aforesaid Bain, at the time he wrote the article, thought of culture as a synonym for "learned," "nongenetic," or "acquired" behavior. He also was probably somewhat confused over the relations between "social" and "cultural" as many people still are.

The present definition makes the classification of culture into "material" and "nonmaterial" meaningless in the strict and rigorous sense of the definition. The material object, when it is symbolized meaningfully, when its uses and the skills necessary to effectuate them are communicated by social symbols, may be affected by culture, may in a real sense be said to be a product of culture, but this does not make it culture any more than the egg is the hen or the grass blade is the sun. The case of the artifact is no different from that of the nonfabricated object. Culture

itself is social symbol mediated behavior and is material or nonmaterial depending upon one's ontological bias. When this is clearly understood, as it usually is except by the chronic term-reifiers or the ontologically naïve, material and nonmaterial culture may be used as a convenient way of distinguishing objects produced by or affected by culture from the corresponding types of cultural behavior which are directly related to them. However, it never should be forgotten that culture is "behavior mediated by social symbols," and therefore inorganic and organic objects, whether fabricated or not, are not and can never be culture; neither can they "have" culture: only some organisms, and notably man, can behave culturally and "have" culture, though only a small part of man's total behavior is culture.

A word should be said about "mediated." It is chosen because it is a colorless word, almost copulative in meaning. It has been shown that the products of culture are not culture; hence, "caused," "produced by," etc., which appear in so many definitions of culture, are not only inappropriate but actually misleading. All that is required of a rigorous definition of culture is that it clearly shall include all types of observable and rationally inferable behavior which is affected by social symbols and shall exclude all behavior not so affected. Natural science is not concerned with "final" causes in any sense. It starts with the necessary postulation that any event is *mediately* "caused," directly and indirectly, by all time-space events that have preceded the observed event. The event is *immediately* "caused" by that defined variable in the present time-space continuum which is "taken" to be less constant, or more manipulatable, than the other variables or factors immediately recognized as parts of the universe (delimited "area" or configuration) under investigation. Thus, at any instant, any defined factor in the universe (complex of factors in the delimited field) may be taken

as the immediate and proximate "cause" of the event. Experience shows that some "taken" "causal" factors are more useful for certain (but not for all) purposes than others that may be taken equally well so far as logic is concerned. Unfortunately, logic and pragmatic utility do not always coincide. This is a very brief indication of what "cause" means in the schema of natural science. Whenever "cause" takes on finalistic connotations, it becomes too general, too indefinite, too equivocal, to be useful for the specific, exact purposes of natural science. In this ultimate and all-inclusive sense, "cause" frequently gets capitalized and takes on the quality of a reified fantasy, thus becoming as useless for science as the various extant concepts of God.

In both science and common sense, the "cause" of an object, event, or relationship in a universe usually is "taken" to be that factor in the complex which disturbs the previously existing equilibrium of energy-relations, or the structure and functioning of a designated energy system. Such a "cause" may be *observed* (rainfall "causes" erosion) or it may be *introduced* into the universe (bonuses for babies "cause" increased birth rates). In such thinking, we frequently ignore such facts as that rainfall and bonuses are themselves "effects" as well as "causes," that they are only one of the many factors that "produce" or are "involved in" the observed "effect," that the actual behavior is always the result of all the reciprocal interactions between all the factors involved and that many of these interoperating influences are *outside* the delimited universe which, for the purposes of science, must be "taken" to be a "closed system" but which observably and/or inferably is not. Since a useful-for-natural science definition of culture needs to deal only with sense-observable and rationally inferable behavior, it need not and probably must not, except at its peril, be concerned with final or "first" cause, motive, purpose, desire, idea, consciousness,

and other such ambiguous and slippery terms. These concepts usually involve general metaphysical problems which are of great interest and importance in their proper context, but they are not pertinent here because the proposed definition will stand no matter what particular type of metaphysics (ontology and epistemology) one may prefer. This is true because no metaphysics can avoid recognizing motion and symbol and man. Thus, no metaphysics can quarrel (it is hoped—but not believed) with a concept of culture which limits it to the social symbol mediated behavior of man (or of other organisms that have or can acquire social symbols) and excludes all other behavior, human and nonhuman, which is not so mediated.

The classification of culture is a very important problem which cannot be discussed because it is not really germane to the definition of culture and also because any useful exposition would have to be systematic and therefore would require extensive time and space. It would require a complete and detailed delimitation of all the special and general fields of social science and their borderline areas. The usefulness and logical adequacy of a classification of cultural phenomena depend upon the immediate purpose which such a classification is intended to serve. Presumably there is a "best" classification for a specific purpose, e.g., an elementary textbook, which might not be the "best" for some other purpose, e.g., the delimitation of the fields of social science and their relations to other branches of natural science. What is "best" in all of these particular cases can be determined only by experience with the many possible schemes one can imagine. However, it is easy to state some of the principal criteria which any adequate classification must satisfy: consistency with other tested natural science knowledge; internal consistency; the principle of inclusion and exclusion; simplicity; conformity to some general principle of classification; relevance to observed and observable cultural phenomena, past, pres-

ent, and probable future; relevance and utility for the purpose at hand; and others.

Consensus upon any of the possible classifications of culture must of necessity depend upon a consensus as to what culture *is*. The definition here presented is offered as a first approximation upon which all sociologists who regard cultural phenomena as natural phenomena can agree. It excludes all behavior generally regarded as not-cultural (physical, biological) and all which is frequently confused with culture (individual habits, conditioned responses, learning, etc.). All culture is learned, to be sure, but not all learning is culture. This definition also avoids such dubious questions as: Is an "original" idea, culture? Is the first action of a certain kind, culture? Do animals, insects, or plants "have" culture? Do angels have culture? Can culture be "unconscious" and "uncommunicated"? Can culture exist without "ideas"? What "causes" culture? and so on through the whole list of unanswerable fool's questions with which we have troubled ourselves so much with such questionable results. The proposed definition includes all observable behavior which we ordinarily call culture, whether we are thinking on the level of common sense or science. It gives us a clear and simple method of separating cultural from not-cultural behavior. It is equally universal in its temporal and spatial application. It covers everything that is now or ever can become culture. It emphasizes the fact that the most numerous and commonly used social symbols are verbal, but it does not exclude nonverbal symbols such as music, gestures, pictures, writing, statues, buildings, or mechanically produced verbal symbols. It makes the touchstone of culture the mediation of behavior by social symbols. In the present state of our admittedly limited scientific knowledge about cultural phenomena, this appears to be a logically and factually defensible and useful definition of culture.

RADIO IN WARTIME

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● Warfare has been carried on by military, diplomatic, and economic means. The military fronts have been on land and sea, and in the air. To these there has been added a fourth front—the radio.¹ All media of communication are important, but the radio has become one of the most decisive weapons of war. On the radio front, as Rolo puts it,

there are no letdowns, no stalemates, no neutrals. Every nation, dominion, colony, and puppet state is taking part in the "battle of many tongues" on the air waves. The great powers using giant short wave transmitters—the Big Berthas of today—force their words through to the four corners of the earth. The lesser states—down to the smallest and most remote communities, all of which proudly boast some sort of radio transmitter—strive persistently to get a hearing amid the bedlam.²

The radio was not used extensively during World War I. There were only a few receivers in existence. Today there are over a hundred million receivers in the world, of which more than half are in the United States. The broadcasting stations have increased also, and power has been piled upon power. At least 350 short-wave stations were in operation in 1939, which number has been increased considerably since then. Short-wave radio communication now encircles the globe.

The weapons of the radio armory are music, news, commentaries and talks, dialogues and discussions, documentaries, and dramatizations or plays. International broadcasts are directed: (1) to enemy countries, and regions

¹ Compare Thomas Grandin, *Geneva Studies*, Vol. 10, 1939; Harold N. Graves, Jr., *War on the Short Wave*, 1941; and Charles J. Rolo, *Radio Goes to War, The Fourth Front*, 1942.

² Charles J. Rolo, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

under their control, in order to create confusion and to break down enemy morale; (2) to allies in order to bring about greater unity of purpose and actions; and (3) to neutrals or nonbelligerents to win or hold them to their side or at least to prevent them from going into the enemy camp. Internally, the radio is used to forge and maintain national unity.

Historically, the Russians were the first to use the radio for international broadcasting purposes. They made some use of it during World War I, as did several other countries, but it was not until the Soviet Union was established that they used the radio for extensive international broadcasting purposes. At first they used the radio to exhort foreign populations to strike off their chains and to join an international revolution. As foreign governments began to recognize the Soviet Union, the broadcasts changed from creating revolution to the emphasis on the successes of the communist experiment. The Soviet Union itself was relatively immune from foreign broadcasts because there were so few privately owned receivers in Russia and the communally owned radios were not tuned in on foreign stations. Besides, the fact that Russians speak many languages and dialects makes it difficult to reach large portions of the population by means of broadcasts in one language.

France was the next country to use the radio extensively to broadcast to her empire and to foreign countries. Shortly thereafter, the British Broadcasting Corporation inaugurated the British Empire Service, broadcasting only in English. Italy broadcast to the Near East, particularly to the Moslems to wean them from the British. Germany entered the international field in 1933, only a month after Hitler came to power. Even though the last of the great powers to enter the field, her international broadcasts have been the most extensive and devastating of them all.

Prior to World War II, broadcasting nations had parceled out noninterfering wave lengths among themselves. Conferences were held in Washington, D.C., in 1927; at Madrid, Spain, in 1932; at Cairo, Egypt, in 1938; and in 1939, shortly before the outbreak of the war, another international radio conference met in Montreux, Switzerland, composed of representatives from 31 nations, to redistribute channels for European broadcasting. But the Spanish Civil War had already broken down the rules of international broadcasts. Here, for the first time, the radio was used extensively as an instrument of warfare as well as a means of broadcasting to other lands. By the fall of 1939, the belligerent nations ignored prior agreements regarding wave lengths and interferences and began to use the radio for military purposes, also to jam the programs coming from enemy countries.

Germany's war by radio. When Hitler came to power, all broadcasting was concentrated in one department under the direction of Dr. Goebbels. The first effort was to promote unity within the fatherland and to eliminate discordant elements. Listening became compulsory in schools, factories, theaters, eating places, and in public squares. The early international broadcasts were designed to unite the German-speaking people of the world, to call attention to the excellence of German workmanship and the quality of their goods, and to expand the German power. Russia was one of the first countries to become the target of attacks. Russian leadership and activities were ridiculed, the less savory conditions in Russia were exposed, and an effort was made to arouse opposition to communism. But the first definite instance of a direct attack on a neighboring country occurred in 1933 when Munich stations denounced the Dollfus Government in Austria. Within a year a revolution was in process and Dollfus was killed. The actual Anschluss occurred in 1938, at which

time the radio played a significant part. On the night of March 11, 1938, Austrian stations transmitted, to the astonishment of many people, National Socialist speeches, demonstrations, and military marches, all of which had been prepared well ahead of time in the form of discs so that they might be put on the air at the psychological moment. By 1938 the Nazi radio had stirred up frenzied criticisms of the Czechs in their treatment of the Sudetens, and other countries were sprayed with their propaganda. The object of these broadcasts was not only to stir up trouble in neighboring countries on which they had designs but to keep the German tongue alive and to stimulate self-determination of Germans everywhere.

Nazi propaganda undoubtedly scored its greatest success in France, where radio broadcasts preceded and accompanied military force. The efforts to divide and immobilize the French people were highly successful. Even after the Armistice, the German broadcasts, many over former French stations, sought to demoralize the people by filling them with a sense of crushing shame, and at the same time to reconcile them to Nazi domination.

The radio Blitzkrieg strategy is fundamentally one of nihilism, with a variety of substrategies. Divide and conquer is a vital principle of Nazi tactics. Prior to the spring of 1940 the Nazi radio hammered away at such slogans as, "The British will fight to the last Frenchman," "The English give machines, the French give their lives," and the frequent question, "Where are the British?" The French *poilu* was told that the British Tommies enjoyed luxuries at the expense of the French fighting men. The broadcasts to France were highly anti-Semitic, antiplutocratic, and anti-British. It is evident now that they were in fact anti-French. The Nazi propagandists tried to paralyze the enemy by creating confusion, doubt, and uncertainty. In the end, frightfulness and terror were created.

By appealing to a variety of interests and causes—smearing interventionists, praising isolationists, cultivating the revolutionary spirit, emphasizing the common-sense appeal, pacifism, and race hatred—dissension was created. Rumors and false reports were used to create confusion, and the Nazi did not hesitate to spread falsehood. When the conflict reached its peak, while the battle for France was raging, fake panic reports created the feeling of frightfulness. Thus the Blitzkrieg was accompanied by an Angskrieg—a psychological war designed to annihilate the enemy's will to resist.

The main purpose of the radio assault on Britain was to swing the people from their leaders, thereby weakening British resistance. When Lord Haw-Haw made his appearance, the anti-British broadcasts began in earnest. At first the British were amused and listened extensively, but when Germany moved into the Low Countries and into France, Lord Haw-Haw began to pitch his voice, became more excited, warned the British of their hopeless position, and urged the people to surrender, stressing Germany's might. From that time on the British public turned a cold shoulder and listening dropped perceptibly. The Nazi continued the same type of broadcast for some time. The broadcasters blundered greatly in that they did not take into consideration the changed attitude of the British.

The Nazi broadcasts to the United States represent a different story but with similar tactics. Berlin imported what Rolo calls Benedict Arnolds, such as Lord Hee-Haw, designed to talk to the American people to keep them neutral. After the passage of the Lend-Lease Bill, the United States was considered as being definitely in the enemy camp and open hostilities were evidenced. The chief aims were to demoralize the people, start a fifth column movement, and to defeat our Good Neighbor policy regarding Latin America.

Space does not permit an analysis of the tactics of Germany's Axis partners, particularly Italy, but also Spain and now Vichy France. Radio Roma, the Spanish station at Madrid, and other stations reflect Berlin's broadcasts. Sometimes they are used in place of broadcasts from Berlin. Their broadcasts to South America are particularly significant in that they touch off sentiments favorable to the Axis program and in opposition to the United States and Britain. The Japanese are using somewhat similar tactics in the Far East.

The British Broadcasting Corporation goes to war. Prior to the war the BBC presented rather formal programs. The radio was just a voice with an Oxford accent. On September 1, 1939, the BBC made a sudden and rapid switchover to a wartime basis which totally transformed the whole system of broadcasting. From that time on only two wave lengths were used, the control was more centralized, the programs were humanized, the announcers' names were given, great personalities were brought to the listening public, field reporters brought to the listeners the actualities of war, the defense of Britain was dramatized, listeners were permitted to participate in broadcasts, entertainment was provided for the workers in factories and for those in air shelters, and special programs for the forces were inaugurated. But this was only a part of the transformation. Britain began to broadcast for continental listeners. Messages of encouragement were sent to the Czechs, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, and French. A sizable German audience listened to the broadcasts in spite of the severe restrictions in Germany. The BBC became the voice of the governments in exile. General Charles de Gaulle has made extensive use of this service to appeal to the French people. He has been called the "Radio General." His genius for martial oratory, his heroic style, and his emphasis on hope and victory have made his broadcasts effective.

The most successful effort of the BBC in blanketing the continent with programs has been the "V for Victory" campaign. International broadcasts have been sprinkled with the Morse Code for V, three dots and a dash. The mysterious "Colonel Britton" has issued the directions for the V campaign. Special features have been built around the V sound and the Victory army has been mobilized all over Europe. The Germans countered this movement by adopting the V as a symbol of an old victory cry, "Viktoria," but in this Goebbels was not successful. The Gestapo has put forth a special effort to suppress the campaign, but the mysterious V has appeared everywhere. Hundreds of letters from France and other occupied countries testify to the success of the campaign.

The voice of the Kremlin. The Czech crisis in May, 1939, produced a cross fire of Russian and German broadcasting. The Russian radio had entered the arena of the international radio war. After the signing of the nonaggression pact with Hitler, the radio attacks on Germany ceased, but the mighty voice of the Kremlin was again heard as soon as Germany invaded Russia. Soviet Russia today is waging a savage war through the air as well as on the battlefield. The Moscow radio has jammed the Berlin and other German-controlled stations by using their wave lengths and has broadcast to the German people over these same wave lengths. When Berlin presents news reports, the Moscow station announcers wait for breaks in the program to add clever rejoinders. When the Berlin station signs off, Moscow continues to broadcast on the same wave length in German, impersonating Goebbels or Der Führer himself. Moscow continues to attack the German leaders, reports Russian successes, and announces to the world that she did not want the war.

Germany has not been very successful in broadcasting to Russia. As in previous campaigns, she has thundered a

mass of verbal threats across the lines, urging the people to revolt and surrender. But the Russian receivers are mostly government owned and Germany's broadcasts were ruled out. Furthermore, it is difficult to broadcast to the Russians because of the many languages and dialects. Besides, the Russian superstations have outpowered German stations and have hurled a vigorous campaign of defiance against them.

The international radio service of the United States. The news roundups represent the outstanding services of international broadcasting of the American radio stations, bringing up-to-date news to listeners, both at home and abroad. These broadcasts were started and carried on irregularly prior to 1938. Since then our radio news reporters have roamed from capital to capital, and from front to front, giving firsthand accounts of what was happening in the various theaters of war. In spite of censorship, a considerable amount of direct news items has been brought to the ears of the listeners, giving them "ear-views" of the latest events. As a result of these broadcasts the listening public of the American radio stations is undoubtedly the best informed on world affairs found anywhere. Even the German listeners get news of events from our broadcasts before they are released by German authorities. For instance, they learned, from the National Broadcasting short-wave news bulletins, about the Soviet-German pact four hours before the German government released the news of it.

After Japan attacked Pearl Harbor the United States broadcasters went into high gear, reporting minute-by-minute happenings. All networks went on the job immediately and efficiently. During the first sixty-four hours of the war, Columbia Broadcasting System alone skyrocketed the short-wave news to more than 400 per cent over the normal volume. Listening by the American radio public

was stepped up considerably. President Franklin D. Roosevelt broke all audience records two consecutive days. On December 8, 1941, when he appealed for a declaration of war against Japan, his listening audience was rated as 65.7 per cent of the potential listeners; and the next evening, when he addressed the nation, he shattered all night listening with a rating of 83 per cent. Millions of people in other lands listened to these broadcasts.

It is not known how extensively Americans listen to foreign broadcasts. Proportionate to the total number of receivers, such listening is not very extensive owing to the fact that the regular broadcasting services have been sufficient to provide the news of world events desired by the American people. However, the United States has established strong listening posts. Both government officials and private broadcasters are keeping in touch with all foreign broadcasts.

The United States has not been asleep in developing short-wave broadcasting for foreign consumption, but up to 1940 only 14 stations had been licensed. The World Wide Foundation station WRUL in Boston, which was set up originally as a world radio university by Walter L. Lemmon, president and founder, has rendered effective service. It was this station that warned Norwegian merchantmen on the high seas of the true nature of affairs at home when Germany invaded that country, urging them to head for the nearest allied or neutral port. Recently the short-wave program of foreign broadcasts has been speeded up. The broadcasts to Latin America are the most highly developed. Since August, 1941, the federal government has given private broadcasters a helping hand in order to offset the Axis propaganda.

The radio as a spearhead of democracy. The potency of the radio in wartime can hardly be questioned. The more tense the international situation becomes, the more

partisan its broadcasts, the greater its effects upon listeners. If used with the showmanship of the Nazi propagandists, with ruthless disregard for truth, and inspired by the fervent belief that the state is supreme and that every act in its interest is justifiable no matter how incorrect and devastating it may be, the radio can be used to permeate all forms of political, social, and educational activities. Broadcasters in democracies, particularly in the United States, have been reluctant to use the radio for propaganda purposes. The very idea of propaganda is repugnant to democratic thinking. We believe in presenting the truth, or at least in presenting both sides of an issue. Yet in time of war the attitude toward propaganda is changing. Many are asking, why not propagandize democracy? At least we should offset Axis propaganda by emphasizing the values of democracy. Since democracy is a system of ideas as well as a way of life, broadcasters can do much to promote the ideals of liberty, equality, and representative government. The Good Neighbor policy can be promoted among allied and neutral countries, people in occupied countries can be urged to keep up their resistance and struggle, and certain groups in enemy countries may be won to the democratic way of life.

The radio and war nerves. The radio has been used to bolster and to develop morale at home. Entertainment is one of the best means of providing escape from the strain and stress of war. The American broadcasters have specialized in entertainment. They have considered entertainment as one of the main functions of the radio and have made marked progress in its development. In addition to comedy and variety programs, broadcasters have added humor to many other forms of broadcasts. News broadcasts may be disconcerting, especially when reverses are reported; yet the American public desires and demands to know what is going on. The continuous report-

ing of the news has a decided advantage in a democracy. A proper balance of news reports and entertainment accomplishes many purposes useful to the furtherance of the war. Besides, the radio is used to promote war bond sales, to educate the public regarding war measures, and to bring about national unity.

The military uses of the radio. The technical aspects of the military uses of the radio are beyond the scope of the present treatment. Most of the uses are matters of military secrecy. However, it must be noted that radio has played a vital part in the technical operations of recent wars. The radio is an excellent direction finder. It is used to direct ships, planes, and land operations. Radio transmission and reception apparatus, for both the use of code transmission at great distances and voice transmission for shorter distances (usually less confidential), are now used on almost all planes and ships. From the standpoint of accuracy and speed of handling messages, the radio has no equal. These are only a few of the military uses of the radio in wartime, but it is evident that the radio is an indispensable military instrument.

Thus the radio has indeed become a fourth front in more ways than one. The social scientists may find the study of its use one of the most fruitful fields of social research.

ORGANIZATION FOR PEACE*

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● Peace and justice between states can be secured only by the same means by which they have been secured within states—and that is through the development of institutional machinery. Sociologists have defined an institution as an organized behavior pattern based upon consensus and provided with a specialized personnel and material facilities such as buildings, finances, and any other equipment necessary for carrying out the functions of the institution.

It is an axiom of elementary sociology that human social life is made possible only through the organization of behavior into cooperative patterns that are directed toward ends concerning which there is general consensus. Institutions, which are the more permanent, stable forms of organized behavior, may be compared with the skeleton and the vital organs of the body. That is, they furnish the framework which gives form to the social life and holds it together, while at the same time they provide the facilities for the functioning of the vital forces of a society. Thus, the family, the economic organization, the religious organization, the school, the state or political organization, and other less fundamental institutions are what make orderly coordinated behavior possible among a large number of people by providing prescribed patterns of behavior and channels through which an individual may function in harmony with other individuals.

The institution which has been concerned with the maintenance of peace, the settlement of disputes, the de-

* *Editor's Note:* This paper was read before the Ohio Valley Sociological Society, April, 1942. It takes a long-term point of view, dealing with underlying social, economic, and political factors in social change and organization.

termination of rights, and the administration of justice is the political organization or the state.

Apparently, this institution is not present in the smaller and simpler societies. Among these peoples social control and the determination of rights are provided for by other institutions and folkways. Being primary groups, they are controlled largely by approval, disapproval, gossip, and other automatic reactions of primary groups. The elders because of their prestige exert a regulating influence as do certain outstanding individuals possessing natural leadership. The medicine man or shaman, whose essential function is religious, also is a factor in social control. Custom is a binding force and there is little variation in the mores. Moreover, the family organization has great influence as an agency of control over its members. As for a distinctive political organization with defined functions, there is none to be found among the simpler societies. But in all larger and more advanced societies political organization has been found a necessity for the continued existence of the society.

It appears, as pointed out by Oppenheimer,¹ Ratzenhofer,² Laski,³ that the first political organization was a machinery set up by a conquering group to control those whom they had conquered. Thus, the first states were those in which one section of the population desired to exploit the other section, and the political institution was a device to make this easy without the necessity of constant warfare. It was

The good old rule, the simple plan
That they shall take who have the power,
And they shall keep who can.

¹ F. Oppenheimer, *The State*.

² G. Ratzenhofer, *Sociologische*.

³ H. Laski, *Foundations of Sovereignty*.

We need not trace here the long process by which such political institutions were gradually modified so as to substitute some degree of justice for a preferential treatment of those in power. As L. T. Hobhouse has pointed out in his *Morals in Evolution*, there is found a gradual development of the ethical element in the political organization, and the rule maintained becomes increasingly a rule of right instead of mere might.

It is with the advent of democratic government, based, as the American founding fathers declared, on the principle of the consent of the governed, that we reach political institutions that undertake to preserve order, peace, and cooperative behavior in behalf of the common welfare and to seek to settle all disputes on the basis of a concept of justice that is based essentially on ethical principles.

But there are two significant things to observe with respect to the development of political institutions. The first of these is that, whether the government be merely one of the dominance of one group over another or one that is endowed with a high purpose of ethical justice, the essential element of the governmental institution is that it be endowed with the physical power to enforce its will. Without such power there is no government. The state may and does use many other devices than physical force to maintain its control. It uses education, art, the development of intelligent self-direction, and even persuasion by propaganda. But, however soft the glove that government uses, underneath there must always be the firm hand of physical power.

The second significant aspect to be noted is that government, like any other institution, must be implemented with a specialized personnel and with the machinery that has been found necessary for its functioning, that is, with legislative, executive, and judicial facilities. Without such facilities government does not function.

It is the institution of government, endowed with physical force and equipped with facilities for functioning, that has made it possible for large numbers of people to live together in peaceful, orderly, and cooperative life. When we think of 130,000,000 people of the United States carrying on peaceful and cooperative intercourse for the enrichment of life, we can see how far we have come from the organization of those small primitive societies without any governmental institution.

But we are faced with the fact that it is only within states that this has been accomplished. When the people of one state undertake to deal with those of another, we are confronted with the fact that there is no governmental institution to define rights or to maintain peace and order. The area between states is a no man's land, where the law of the jungle prevails. It is true that we sometimes hear of international law. But, thus far, international law generally is what any particular state is able to enforce.

We return here to the statement with which this paper was begun. Peace and justice between states can be secured only through the same means by which they have been secured within states. The record of human history is definitely clear on that point. It means an institutional organization endowed with physical power to enforce its will and equipped with the machinery to enact law, interpret it, and enforce it.

An adequate international government based on justice and democratic principles can not spring, like Minerva, full armed from the brow of Jove, and certainly not from the brow of Mars. It will require some time to develop. The beginning that was made in the League of Nations, while containing many weaknesses, at least was a beginning. And we do not now have to start from scratch. Enough was accomplished to indicate possibilities, and mistakes to be avoided. On the foundation of this idea an

international governmental organization may be eventually built, and must be built if peace and order between states are ever to be achieved.

At the beginning it would probably not be possible to make use of a generally democratic control of the international government. There is not yet a world opinion on fundamental issues. With the cessation of hostilities there will be bitter hatreds, jealousies, and fear of economic disaster. If some kind of international government is set up, it will have to be supported for a time by the military power of Great Britain and the United States and Russia. A considerable number of other states, such as the Scandinavian countries, would be ready for genuinely democratic participation. But it would take time for most of those now engaged in war or subjected to a conqueror to be ready for participation.

The functions of such a government would, of course, raise questions just as the functions of a government within a state are open to discussion. Our experience over the past century has made it clear that no one can fix in advance the scope of a government's functions. We now understand that its proper scope can be decided only in the light of emerging needs and changing conditions. There are no *a priori* limitations to the scope of government.

We can see now, however, the necessity for an international government that will exercise at least the elementary functions of all government, namely, the maintenance of peace and order and the adjudication of rights between contending members of the family of nations. That means the outlawing of war, if necessary by forceful means, and the maintenance of a military establishment equal to the task, equivalent to the police and militia establishment of a state government. We fought one world war with the expressed purpose of ending all wars. But we did not understand then that the outlawing of war requires some-

thing more than pious wishes. We should now understand that peace never has been and never can be maintained without the institutional organization and equipment that have secured what peace we have enjoyed within states.

But, in addition to maintaining peace and adjudicating differences between states, there is another function of the international government that would be practically as fundamental as these other elementary ones. That is the function of facilitating economic cooperation between states. The failure to take account of the necessity for economic cooperation was the weak spot in Woodrow Wilson's program for self-determination of small states. It appears obvious that the failure to achieve some kind of workable economic cooperation not only is the chief cause of the present war but must remain for many years the crux of the whole problem of international relations. Social scientists have abandoned, if they ever held, the devil theory of the cause of war. Disposing of a Napoleon or a Kaiser or a Hitler or a militaristic clique who gains control of a state does not remove the conditions, generally economic, which have made it possible for these trouble-makers to attain power.

What we have failed to recognize is that the present-day system of mass production and our modern means of transportation and communication have in many respects made the whole world an economic unit. Our present embarrassment with respect to automobile tires should bring home to us what has been obvious to economists for some time, that economic isolationism even for a nation with such diversified resources as the United States is an impossibility. And few states have the degree of economic independence that the United States has. Commerce today between the United States and Europe, Asia, and Africa is easier and more necessary than was commerce between our southern states and the New England states at the time of the

American Revolutionary War. The world has become a vast interdependent economic unit. To attempt to maintain economic individualism in such a world is merely to invite a continuation of world depressions and world wars.

It is, of course, impossible here to outline even the rudiments of an adequate program for world economic cooperation. That, in any case, is a task for economists. And, even for economists, only a few simple beginnings can at present be envisioned. The plan must grow a step at a time, and much experimentation would be necessary. Probably the beginnings would have to be made in regional units, such as the Americas and central and eastern Europe.

But the important thing is that we now recognize the futility and the danger of nationalistic economic individualism and that we begin seeking for ways to substitute cooperation for conflict. Here again, as in the case of the pattern for an international government, we have some beginnings already to start with. We have the international labor office of the League of Nations; we have the beginnings of economic cooperation between the Americas; we have the pooling of shipping and other resources by Great Britain and the United States. And recently in London the representatives in exile of eastern and central European countries have put down on paper a detailed plan for the economic unity of the whole of eastern and central Europe after the war, while retaining their political and cultural independence.

Such problems as currency and exchange, tariff barriers, access to raw materials—all would require some degree of control by the international government. In fact, international government and international economic cooperation would not be two separate and independent processes. We now understand that, in a social order of such complete interdependence as is ours, government,

which is the most inclusive institution for the common welfare, must assume considerable responsibility for the economic processes. Even in the United States, probably the greatest stronghold of *laissez faire* in the world, it has become increasingly evident that economic processes cannot function adequately without a very considerable degree of governmental control and assistance. And, in any attempt to develop a workable international economic co-ordination, the international government would have to play an important role.

Still another function for the international government appears inevitable. That is the protection of weak and backward peoples, who now constitute the problem of the colonies. After World War I, this problem was approached through the device of mandates. But we have here another piece of evidence of the futility of trying to protect peoples or promote justice without the institutional equipment to adjudicate rights and enforce justice. The weak peoples who now constitute the colonies should be directly under the protection of the international government which would seek not only to increase their ability to utilize their own natural resources but above all to prevent stronger peoples from exploiting them and destroying their native culture. This does not imply that the natural resources of their territories should not be available for world use under adequate safeguards.

We need not here undertake to elaborate further the functions of an international government. Undoubtedly, they would grow as world opinion crystallized around obvious needs. It appears evident, however, that such an international institution, at least for as far as we can now see into the future, would leave the greater part of government where it is now—in the hands of relatively separate state governments. Nothing that has been said here is intended to imply an abolition of the separate and rela-

tively independent state. There is implied a redefinition of our current concept of sovereignty. It looks toward an exchange of a small portion of our national independence (akin somewhat to the independence of the frontiersman) for a world order free from war and recurring periods of insecurity. For the smaller and weaker states and separate cultural groups it would mean a greatly increased amount of control over their own domestic life, while delivering them from the constant menace of aggression.

But to some the notion of a type of international government, equipped with the power and the machinery to maintain peace and justice between states, and a system of international economic coordination which would guarantee access of all peoples to natural resources and lead strong nations to help weak ones may appear too utopian to be at all practicable. I admit that it presents many difficulties and must require time to build into a workable scheme. But it is my thesis that not only is it the only hope the world has for peace and the preservation of human civilization but it is merely the logical extension of what we have already achieved within the advanced nation-state of today.

Several hundred years ago it would have been regarded as utopian to think of 130,000,000 people with widely diverse interests living together in the territory now occupied by the United States under a democratic form of government, with a rather high, even if incomplete, maintenance of justice and peaceful economic cooperation. Human progress is achieved by building little by little on the structure that our fathers have achieved in the past. The modern nation-state with its efficient central government was a great achievement that developed on the ruins of the political and economic individualism of feudal society. Is it too much to believe that the next logical step is a central agency for maintaining peace, order, and justice in

the international realm with an economic coordination that will eliminate most of the occasions for war?

It has been said that in this war we are facing the greatest crisis of our history. It is doubtless true that the outcome of the war is more critical for the existence and further development of the American democracy than anything that has yet happened to us. But we must remember that the outcome of the peace, if we win the war, is equally critical. The people of the United States will then face the greatest moral challenge that they have ever been confronted with.

Shall we be equal to the responsibility for world leadership that has been thrust upon us? It is no mere national egotism to recognize that in military power, in wealth, in industrial skill, and in intellectual and artistic resources we shall emerge from the war head and shoulders above any other nation. How shall we use that power?

We may, as after the first World War, blind ourselves to the realities of the situation, deny that the modern world is an organic whole, and bid the other nations again to stew in their own juice. In which case we, of course, must needs prepare for the next war. Or, recognizing our power and advantage, we might embark on a program of dominating the world situation for our own advantage. We might interpret our world leadership as Japan has interpreted her mission in Asia.

In place of either of these alternatives there is a third course possible. We may recognize the essential unity of the modern world and take the position that our wealth and power lay a heavy moral responsibility upon us for taking the lead toward a peaceful and cooperative world. This is not merely a call to idealistic altruism. It is above all a call to realism. For nothing is more apparent than the lesson of the last twenty-four years, namely, that peace and economic security are not possible for even the strongest

nation in a world of national individualism. But strength and power do imply a moral responsibility. For the people of the United States to shirk the responsibility of leadership toward a new world order would provide some weight to the oft-repeated charge that wealth and power destroy a people's moral sensitiveness.

Sociologists are in a position to understand the present world situation more clearly than any other group. Have we any responsibility for leadership in helping develop in the United States a public understanding of what the nation confronts?

SOCIAL VALUES OF GROUP HEALTH ASSOCIATIONS*

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● In the United States the problem of how best to dispense medical care to the American people has been the subject of much social controversy and conflict for the last several decades. The clash of deep-seated attitudes, rooted in custom and tradition, with modern medical innovations which threaten the security and status of the established institution of medical private practice has succeeded in concentrating this problem in the public consciousness. Arguments both for and against various medical plans, as expressed by their proponents and opponents, have heightened public interest on the subject; and tangible evidence of newer methods of distributing medical care, in the form of group health associations, has crystallized areas of attitudes and opinions of diverse groups of people.¹ In this article the three types of group health associations are designated as (1) cooperative group health association, (2) proprietary group health association, (3) quasi group health association.²

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¹ The group health associations in the United States are to be sharply distinguished from state medicine. State medicine is public medical care supported by taxes, whereas group health associations are financed by the voluntary periodic payments of members. State medicine is state controlled; group health associations are individually controlled.

² The *cooperative* type is characterized by a democratic division of control between the lay members and physicians. Some typical cooperative plans are: Farmers' Union Community Hospital, Elk City, Oklahoma; Wage Earners' Health Association, St. Louis; Greenbelt Health Association, Greenbelt, Maryland; Group Health Association, Washington, D.C.; Group Health Cooperative, Chicago; and Group Health Cooperative, New York City. All the values pointed out in this paper apply to the cooperative health group. (2) The *proprietary* group health association is controlled and operated completely by physicians. Some of the proprietary health groups are: Ross-Loos Medical Group, Los Angeles; Trinity Hospital, Little Rock, Arkansas; Milwaukee Medical Center; and Frank M. Close,

1. *Promoting attitudes of health mindedness.* The development of positive attitudes toward health is one of the natural and inevitable by-products of association in group health plans, as well as the focusing of attention on the important asset and value of good health. In other words, attention is directed not only to the personal values of good health but to the social benefits of good health as well. It is a social advantage to each member to maintain good health, for it reduces the per capita costs of membership and indirectly restricts the possibility of spreading contagious diseases in the community. Group health associations have in a great measure recognized the social nature and implications of good health. Many groups circulate a newsletter among their memberships, which not only carries interesting local information about the health group but also includes short discussions by group health physicians to inform the membership more completely concerning the nature of many of the commonest diseases so that treatment can be effected in the shortest possible time. This tends to encourage the recognition of symptoms which might be serious. Self-recognition of conditions necessitating competent medical attention by physicians is another factor furthering health awareness. In this connection the Group Health Association of Chicago has been progressive and alert. This group has promoted an annual group health institute so that members may hear discussed, by nationally known authorities and leaders, problems of group health associations and recent developments in medical science. The educational programs of

M.D. and Staff, San Francisco. The values enumerated in this article except numbers seven and eight may be found in the proprietary type of group health association. (3) Recently a third type of health group has been developed by the American Medical Association and is defined by the writer as a *quasi* group health association. The principles of group medicine are more conspicuously lacking than present in this type of plan. A few quasi health groups are: California Physicians' Service, California; King County Medical Service Corporation, Seattle, Washington; and Michigan Medical Service, Michigan. About the only values which quasi group health associations incorporate in their plans are numbers three and four listed in this discussion.

group health associations emphasize in every conceivable way the advantages of good health by general meetings of the membership, newsletters, group health institutes, and interstimulation between member and member.

2. *Encouraging preventive medical practices.* Health group members feel that they pay physicians more to keep them well than to cure them of illnesses. Preventive or preservative medicine is practiced by group health associations because it is a more convenient and intelligent way of taking care of the human body. From a purely socioeconomic point of view it is cheaper to practice preventive medicine than to attempt extensive curative treatment, for the old adage, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," still applies. Members of cooperative and proprietary group health associations are urged to seek early treatment of the first symptom of any illness. A member of a Midwestern health group remarked concerning what health group physicians are doing in the preventive medical field:

Just a few days ago I had a typical health group membership experience. One of the health group doctors phoned me and asked why I had not been in for my annual medical examination. He said that he would keep phoning me until I had made a definite appointment with him for this health examination. I certainly appreciated his interest and concern in my well-being and I know that they want to keep me a healthy member.³

Inasmuch as health group physicians are paid on an annual salary basis, there is no pecuniary advantage or reward in treating patients. The annual salary of group health association physicians, ranging from \$3,000 to \$8,000, compares favorably with the income of typical private-practice doctors. In fact, as the case load of a private-practice physician increases, there may be an automatic increase in the morbidity rate among his patients,

³ Personal interview with J. S.

since he cannot keep in close enough contact with their physical conditions to practice preventive medicine. This in turn automatically increases the per capita cost of rendering care. But health group physicians work with the understanding that the preservation of good health is a more intelligent and humane principle to practice than purely curative techniques, no matter how skillfully performed.

Seemingly minor ailments are examined by physicians, who, in the final analysis, are the most competent to judge what is minor and major in health matters, and judgment is not left to the patient, unskilled in diagnosis. Most of the larger group health associations encourage extensive X-ray analysis besides periodic health examinations in order to determine the possible presence of any obscure organic condition, especially tuberculosis. The practice of preventive medicine and the early treatment of disease are cardinal principles of cooperative medicine.

3. *Utilizing the distribution of risk principle.* The application of the insurance principle makes it possible for the members of cooperative and proprietary group health associations to share collectively the cost of all medical services. Even though, legally, health groups in the United States are sometimes considered as failing to employ the principle of insurance, from a socioeconomic point of view these health associations utilize the insurance principle. The distribution of risk or insurance principle permits a health group to predict with fair accuracy the amount of money necessary to operate the organization. Thus, while it is impossible for the individual to predict whether or not he will be subject to an expensive illness, health group officials can predict the average costs of all members' illness at least one year in advance. Without the distribution of risk principle group health associations could function neither practically nor efficiently. Periodic

payments and periodic care result not only in health saving but in budget habits of saving for health. Thus, for the individual member, medical needs are not neglected for more immediate expenditures, often less necessary than health care.

4. *Furthering attitudes of security.* A great many members of group health associations have expressed the feeling that membership in a health group furthers attitudes of financial and medical security. A member of one of the first health groups in the United States reveals the security attitude and its relation to other cooperative enterprises:

Last winter the cooperative hospital saved my life. While my wife was at the hospital with a new baby I was stricken with a ruptured appendix and it was necessary for me to be taken to the hospital also. You can be sure that under ordinary circumstances the financial cost of having three members of one family at the hospital all at the same time would have been awful. Well, the combined bill for medical services and hospitalization was so reasonable that I was able to meet it without too much hardship. You know we have taken part in other cooperative businesses for some time. Cooperation works just as well in health matters as in consumer stores. I might have worried myself sick, I am sure.⁴

Health group members mention repeatedly that the mental ease and the feeling of economic security derived from membership in a health group cannot be measured in terms of mere monetary units. The worry of paying for an unpredictable illness at a time when funds are low is especially harassing to members of low and middle income groups. Thus, cooperative and proprietary group health associations practice a form of medical care which has important psychological implications.

Attitudes of confidence in the advice of health group physicians disclose another form of security. Members often cite that under fee-for-service medicine they have felt sometimes that the physician was needlessly prolong-

⁴ Personal interview with O. H.

ing an illness by way of increasing his own income. Before becoming members of a group health association, a number of health group members had paid several thousands of dollars for medical treatment that was ineffective. Now, as group health members they were receiving for a very nominal fee medical care that was effective in a comparatively short time.

5. *Selecting a competent physician.* One of the paramount problems of medical care has been met to a remarkable degree by cooperative and proprietary group health associations, that is, the selection by the lay member of a well-trained physician. Cooperative and proprietary health plans have attempted to select only the competent physicians as staff members. On the whole, higher academic and professional standards are required of a candidate for a health group position than are required for "success" in private practice. Health associations thus give members free choice of a doctor or doctors from a panel of highly recommended physicians. Under fee-for-service medicine little has been done to help the person needing medical attention make an intelligent choice of a physician. Hearsay evidence has been the principal means of estimating the relative merits of private physicians. Until very recently fee-for-service physicians complacently hid behind the shibboleth of "free choice" of medical doctor by the patient. The lay person was not given any objective evidence or criteria of the strong and weak points of various physicians in the community, and, in all fairness to the situation, it must be said that a stranger or newcomer in the community was governed more by blind choice than by intelligent selection of physicians. On the other hand, medical directors of group health associations not only select superior physicians but generally designate the individual training specialties of each physician so that the patient may make a directed choice of doctor. He may

select a physician to serve as a modern type of "family doctor" and at the same time have the additional assistance of half a dozen or more specialists.

6. Centralizing medical personnel and equipment.

Group health associations pool medical equipment in a centrally located medical center because it facilitates the utilization of expensive medical tools by physicians when they need them. The average private physician cannot afford very expensive medical apparatus, especially if it is to be used only seldom. As a result, many traditional physicians make use of inferior means of arriving at diagnoses. By contrast, a cooperative or proprietary group health association purchases expensive X-ray and electrocardiograph apparatus so that all health group physicians may have access to the magic eye of modern scientific equipment. Pooling of medical equipment also implies that needless duplication of expensive instruments is reduced, thus lowering the cost of medical care and leaving excess funds available for the extension of services.

Centralization of medical personnel in a medical center has several significant advantages for the lay member. The health group member need not seek out specialists or waste valuable time and money going from one fee-for-service specialist to another. In a cooperative or proprietary group health association all the medical brains are under one roof. Group consultation is becoming a widely recommended procedure. Clinical medicine offers the patient an opportunity to have several diagnoses of his condition. Extensive studies have been carried on by medical schools which indicate that a fairly large proportion of the diagnoses made by individual physicians are incorrect. Hence, it is all the more important for the patient to have reflected intensively on the cause of his illness. The ramifications of medical science have become so complex, particularistic, and intricate that it is a psychological and

epistemological impossibility for a single person to possess all the available medical knowledge. Again, the interstimulation induced by sharing knowledge between physician and physician in a cooperative or proprietary group health plan is conducive to mental alertness and represents social altruism manifested in intellectual cooperation. It relegates self-aggrandizement to the background of thought, it encourages the development of democratic ideals in practice, and division of labor becomes the characteristic of mature social organization.

7. *Developing cooperative attitudes.* Group health associations, especially the cooperative type, serve as connecting links in the continually growing chain of social activities that are organized around the principle of mutual aid and help. Cooperative consumer stores, cooperative wholesale branches, cooperative producer centers, and cooperative credit unions and insurance would not be complete without cooperative medicine. In the following case it is seen that there is a transfer of cooperative attitudes:

I became interested in the cooperative health plan largely because a member of our food co-op was a member. I was told how the principles of cooperation apply to medical service. At first I was rather skeptical as to whether or not doctors would render as good medical service if they were paid on any other than a sliding scale of fees basis. We are now thoroughly convinced that cooperative medicine is a social reality and not just an utopian dream or wish. We share together the economic misfortunes of a costly illness much the same way as insurance. We are making cooperation work in another sphere of man's wants and you may be sure that the more places and areas that cooperative principles are applied, even on a comparatively small scale, the more people will come to realize that cooperation is a practical and efficient way to live a good life.⁵

Cooperative health groups are representing another area in which human beings are learning to live and act, not as indifferent, isolated, individual factors in the social environment, but as socialized cooperators.

⁵ Personal interview with W. T. F.

8. *Enhancing democratic attitudes.* The social values arising out of the group health movement stress the dignity and importance of a functional and democratic way of improving the health of the American people. Collective action of members of health groups is focusing the goal of good medical care within the vision of a great many low-income persons in this country. Group health associations make manifest that the patient-member and doctor are copartners in furthering a healthier America. The subjective social and psychological values of good health have almost infinite implications, since good health tends to be a rather basic factor in building positive and optimistic attitudes toward daily living.

Another democratic value of cooperative group health associations is that they have not attempted to restrict by legislation the type of group health association that may be organized. Certain quasi group health associations, dominated indirectly by traditional medical tactics, have attempted in several states to have legislation passed that would limit the type of group health association. It can be said that cooperative health groups stand not only for free choice of physician but for free choice of *type* of group health association, that is, cooperative, proprietary, or quasi group health association.

Cooperative group health associations are experiencing problems inevitable in a social movement evolving out of a social situation which has allowed a system of regimentation by medical doctors regarding the servicing and payment of illness to become a part of the folkways of American culture. Nevertheless, it appears that the united efforts of cooperating units as represented by the various group health associations have been able to suggest a better way than the hit-and-miss, fee-for-service methods of medical practice, and are emerging successfully as demonstrators of the workability in practice of cooperative democracy.

ATTITUDES CONCERNING SIZE OF FAMILY AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY¹

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● In the early part of April, 1941, a syndicated article covering the general subjects of the declining birth rate and attitudes concerning the ideal size of family was released by the American Institute of Public Opinion.² The headlines announced, "Declining Birth Rate Not Popular; 68 Percent Desire Large Family." The report itself stated that "most American couples would like to have larger families . . . fully two-thirds (68%) of those interviewed in the Institute survey said the 'ideal' family was one with three children or more."

If true, the conclusions of this survey are highly significant, but the manner in which the question was posed created serious doubts concerning the reliability of the data. Furthermore, all of the main conclusions do not seem to follow from the data.³ The question asked of each informant was: "What do you consider is the *ideal* size of family—a husband and wife and how many children?" Replies showed 1 per cent favoring one child; 31 per cent, two children; 27 per cent, three; 27 per cent, four; 6 per cent, five; and 8 per cent, six or more children.

¹ Grateful acknowledgment is made for the invaluable assistance of the following: Jane T. Maeda, Mary McAneny, Franklin Kilpatrick, Howard Scott, and Richard Robinson. Because of limitation of space only the most essential data are included in this paper.

² *Seattle Times*, April 7, 1941.

³ From a methodological point of view, criticisms of the so-called "public opinion" polls can be subsumed under the following headings: (a) poor sampling procedure and techniques; (b) use of misleading, ambiguous, or loaded questions; (c) misinterpretation or conscious distortion of the data; (d) obtaining opinions from respondents who do not understand the question or who are too disinterested or ignorant to formulate any significant opinion; (e) requiring a categorical "yes" or "no" to questions representing highly complex issues; (f) using inefficient, biased, or dishonest interviewers; and (g) using interviewing techniques where, because of the personal nature of the questions, anonymous replies would be more reliable.

In order to test the validity of the question as well as the interpretation of the data in the American Institute of Public Opinion survey, the question in its original form along with two reformulations was given to three matched samples of University of Washington undergraduates.⁴

The original question was designated Form *A*; Form *B* was reformulated as follows: "If and when you marry, how many children would you *like* to have, economic, personal, and other factors not interfering?"; and Form *C*: "When you marry, how many children do you *plan* to have?" On each form identical correlative information covering age, sex, marital status, class in school, number of brothers and sisters, religious preference, number of times attending church since January 1, and approximate size of parents' income was supplied by each respondent. One additional question, paralleling that asked by the Institute in this same survey, "What do you think are the main reasons why couples do not have more children?" was also asked of all respondents.⁵

The data secured in this study will be analyzed under four headings: I. Responses to the three forms and their bearing upon the interpretation of the American Institute of Public Opinion poll; II. Comparison of responses to this study and to the Gallup poll; III. Comparison of

⁴ During the preliminary stages of rephrasing the American Institute of Public Opinion question there was definite evidence that it was not entirely clear and explicit. It is possible that the meaning of the original question as posed by the American Institute of Public Opinion was misinterpreted by some interviewees, but this fact is not of primary concern in the present study. In order to obviate any possible misinterpretation of the original question, it was expressed in the following manner on the schedule—(Form *A*): "What do you consider is the ideal size of family—a husband and wife and how many children?"

Husband and wife + () children. (Indicate number of children in parentheses.)"

⁵ In submitting the three questionnaires to the respondents every care was taken to make them anonymous and also to conceal the purpose of the study. The three forms were distributed at random in sociology, anthropology, economics, history, bacteriology, and education classes. There were 400 cases in each of the three samples (i.e., 400 answering Form *A*, 400 Form *B*, and 400 Form *C*) which were matched for sex, age, class, and marital status. All the data were gathered approximately six weeks after the Institute report was published.

background factors influencing attitudes as found in the two studies; IV. Reasons given for smaller families in the two studies.

Since the primary purpose of this paper is a methodological critique of the Gallup survey, a comparison of the data and interpretations in the two studies will be considered first. The data are then analyzed for other points of interest.

I. RESPONSES TO THE THREE FORMS

TABLE I
DISTRIBUTION OF CASES: ALL FORMS

<i>Number of Children</i>	<i>Number</i>			<i>Percentage</i>		
	<i>Form A</i>	<i>Form B</i>	<i>Form C</i>	<i>Form A</i>	<i>Form B</i>	<i>Form C</i>
Total.....	400	400	400	100.0	100.0	100.0
0.....	2	19	15	0.5	4.8	3.8
1.....	5	16	13	1.3	4.0	3.3
2.....	148	133	180	37.0	33.3	45.0
3.....	146	111	127	36.5	27.8	31.8
4.....	89	89	51	22.3	22.3	12.8
5.....	7	16	2	1.8	4.0	.5
6.....	1	10	4	0.3	2.5	1.0
7.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
8.....	1	—	—	0.3	—	—
Unspecified.....	1	6	8	0.3	1.8	2.0

Table I gives the distribution of the cases in Forms *A*, *B*, and *C* and the percentage distribution of the three forms. The means for the three forms were computed, and the difference among these means was then tested for significance. The critical ratios found were as follows:

<i>Forms Compared</i>	<i>C.R.</i>
Form <i>A</i> —Form <i>C</i>	5.71
Form <i>A</i> —Form <i>B</i>	1.08
Form <i>B</i> —Form <i>C</i>	3.81

These ratios indicate that there is a significant difference in the response to Form *C* as compared both to Form *A* and Form *B* which probably could not have arisen through chance alone. It is only logical to arrive at the further conclusion that this difference is the result of the variation in wording of the three forms. Form *C* reading "When you marry, how many children do you *plan* to have?" brings a significantly lower response. It corresponds more realistically to actual behavior in the limitation of family size. While this form differs significantly from Form *B*, which reads "If and when you marry, how many children would you *like* to have, economic, personal, and other factors not interfering?" it differs more significantly from the original question as stated in the American Institute of Public Opinion survey: "What do you consider is the *ideal* size of family—a husband and wife and how many children?"

This would indicate clearly the fallacy of Dr. Gallup's interpretation of his poll as indicating either the desire for children or any plan for having children. He states, "While most of the foregoing will come as reassuring news to population specialists . . ." The significant difference associated with the reformulation of the question indicates, however, that the results of his study mean very little to population specialists. The difference points out the need of interpreting results of attitude questionnaires only in terms of the questions asked.⁶

II. COMPARISON OF RESPONSES TO THE TWO STUDIES

Table II compares four groups of data: the responses to the Institute poll by all persons; the responses to the

⁶ A much-needed study of the social and psychological factors affecting fertility is now being made under the direction of P. K. Whelpton. The Milbank Memorial Fund is sponsoring the study and the Carnegie Corporation of New York is assisting financially. Lowell J. Reed, "Research in Factors Influencing Fertility" (Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund), *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 31, No. 9 (September, 1941), pp. 984-89.

Institute poll by those aged 21-34; the responses to Form *A*; and the responses to all forms in this study.

TABLE II
COMPARISON OF RESULTS OF GALLUP POLL AND PRESENT STUDY BY
PERCENTAGES

<i>Number of Children</i>	<i>Percentage</i>			
	<i>Gallup Poll</i>	<i>Present Study Form A</i>	<i>Gallup Poll Ages 21-34</i>	<i>Present Study All Forms</i>
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0.....	0.0	0.5	0.0	2.9
1.....	1.0	1.3	1.0	2.8
2.....	31.0	37.0	40.0	38.4
3.....	27.0	36.5	32.0	31.9
4.....	27.0	22.3	21.0	19.1
5.....	6.0	1.8	3.0	2.1
6 or more.....	8.0	0.5	3.0	1.3

Age was not considered in this study because of the narrow age range of the group of respondents. The American Institute of Public Opinion survey mentions age as an important factor influencing attitudes on family size. Considering Form *A* only, it can be seen that the distribution of cases for this form corresponds more closely to the distribution of cases in the Institute group, aged 21-34, than to the general population in the Institute study. This appears to confirm the fact that older people consider the ideal size of family to be larger than do younger people. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether this difference is the result of age alone or of changing mores or possibly of some other factor.

Whether we compare the percentage distribution for all forms with the Gallup poll or compare the percentage distribution for all forms with the Gallup distribution, aged 21-34, it is apparent that this study presents a greater concentration of cases favoring small families.

III. COMPARISON OF BACKGROUND FACTORS

In the present study the background information differed somewhat from that requested in the American Institute of Public Opinion poll. The Institute survey found that women, older people, and rural residents wanted significantly more children. In this study rural-urban differentials were untested. However, comparative data were obtained according to age and sex as well as religion, number of siblings, parental income, and church attendance.

Sex. It was found that 61.3 per cent of the women respondents indicated a desire (or plan) for three or more children, while the corresponding figure for the men respondents was 45.7 per cent. The critical ratio obtained, 5.4, shows that the probability is very slight that the observed difference is due to chance alone. Thus, it can be said that the female respondents desire or plan for significantly more children, which substantiates essentially the Gallup finding that "women tended to place the 'ideal' slightly higher than men."

Hypothetically, one may posit two possible reasons for this difference in terms of the group studied. It may be that, since many of these young men are working their way through college, they already have a more realistic appreciation of the expense involved in rearing a family. On the other hand, the young girls, following the cultural conditioning of society, have devoted more of their thinking to plans of a future home, while the young men view offspring as some part of a hazy, distant future.

Parental income, number of siblings, and church attendance. The correlation between each of these factors and the number of children indicated was computed for each relationship. The correlation between number of siblings and attitude of family size was found to be $r=+.18$; between church attendance and attitude on family size, $r=+.15$; while between parental income and attitude on

family size, $r=+.03$. These coefficients of correlation appear to indicate the presence of only a slight relationship between number of siblings and church attendance and family. Apparently parental income is not an important factor in determining attitude concerning size of family.

Religion. In this section the data from the three schedule forms are analyzed according to the religious preference of the respondents. For consistency and comparison with other factors, percentages were computed for those desiring three or more children according to the religious preference. The critical ratios are listed below:

<i>Groups Compared</i>	<i>C.R.</i>
None-Catholics.....	3.87
None-Protestant.....	3.96
None-Jewish.....	0.92
Catholic-Protestant.....	1.42
Catholic-Jewish.....	1.58
Protestant-Jewish.....	0.91

The only significant difference appears to be that those respondents signifying that they have no religious preference want significantly fewer children than either Protestants or Catholics. There is, however, reason to believe that the number of children desired by the Jewish respondents is not accurately measured because of the small sample. The findings here may be summarized as follows: (1) respondents professing no religious preference want significantly fewer children than Protestants, Catholics, or Jews; (2) among the three religious groups Jews signified the strongest desire for small families, whereas the Catholics expressed attitudes favoring large families, but these differences cannot be considered statistically significant.

IV. REASONS GIVEN FOR SMALL FAMILIES

As a final part of this study, the question asked in the American Institute of Public Opinion study was repeated

TABLE III
REASONS GIVEN FOR SMALL FAMILIES

Reason	Number			Percentage		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Total.....	2,192	924	1,268	100.0	100.0	100.0
I. Economic.....	1,141	480	661	52.0	51.9	52.1
Cost of living.....	992	414	578	45.2	44.5	45.3
Uncertainty of economic future, including war.....	146	65	81	6.7	6.9	6.3
All other.....	3	1	2	0.1	0.1	0.2
II. Personal.....	800	329	471	36.5	36.8	39.9
A. Psychological.....	688	284	404	31.4	32.1	34.6
Interference with personal freedom.....	382	165	217	17.4	17.7	17.0
"Selfish".....	111	38	73	5.1	4.1	5.7
No desire for children.....	66	22	44	3.0	2.4	3.5
Social obligations.....	62	26	36	2.8	2.8	2.8
Incompatibility.....	20	9	11	0.9	0.9	0.9
Fear of childbirth.....	16	7	9	0.7	0.7	0.7
Wife's laziness.....	14	8	6	0.6	0.8	0.5
All other.....	17	9	8	0.8	0.9	0.6
B. Physical.....	112	45	67	5.1	4.7	5.3
Physical inability.....	42	19	23	1.9	2.0	1.8
Parents' health.....	36	11	25	1.6	1.2	2.0
Marital age older.....	33	14	19	1.5	1.5	1.5
All other.....	1	1	—	—	0.1	—
III. Social.....	251	115	136	11.4	10.3	8.4
Wives working.....	84	29	55	3.8	3.1	4.3
Knowledge of birth control.....	54	39	15	2.5	4.2	1.2
Social disapproval of large families.....	48	13	35	2.2	1.4	2.7
City life.....	17	12	5	0.8	1.3	0.4
Instability of family life.....	16	7	9	0.7	0.7	0.7
Fast tempo of life.....	16	6	10	0.7	0.6	0.8
Education.....	11	7	4	0.5	0.7	0.3
All other.....	5	2	3	0.2	0.2	0.2

in all three forms of the present survey: "What do you think are the main reasons why couples do not have more children?" Table III presents the answers to this question classified according to three basic categories. It must be noted that these categories are not mutually exclusive. The nature of the question and of the responses does not allow for a desired clear-cut classification.

There was no significant difference in the number of responses per male respondent and per female respondent. The average number of responses per male was 1.77 and per female 1.89. It will be observed that both men and women weighted the economic factor most heavily in family limitation. Next in importance according to both groups of respondents was the interference of children with personal freedom. The uncertainty of the future, including war, ranked third in importance. The rank-order of these categories corresponds to that of the Institute survey. However, the third category, uncertainty of the future, did not specifically list war, but rather economic uncertainty in the Institute study.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. The purpose of this paper is twofold: (a) to test the validity of the data and conclusions of a recent Gallup poll on attitudes relating to family size, and (b) to study the attitudes of University students concerning the "ideal" size of family.

2. It was demonstrated that the manner in which questions in public opinion polls are formulated has a significant influence on the reliability of the data that are obtained.

3. Public opinion polls are sometimes misleading because of loose and unwarranted interpretations.

4. The present study as well as the survey conducted by the Institute of Public Opinion shows that age and sex

are important factors associated with differences in attitudes concerning family size.

5. The relationship between attitudes concerning size of family and (a) number of brothers and sisters, (b) church attendance, (c) religious preference, and (d) parental income was not very high.

6. The University group considers the same factors to be of importance in the limitation of family size as the general public. In both instances the economic factor ranks at the top.

DEMOCRATIC WARTIME MORALE

EIGHT CRITERIA

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● A recent treatise on civilian morale approaches its timely subject from so many important angles that it deserves more space than it would receive as an ordinary book review.¹ It supplements in many ways some of the ideas published recently in an article by the present writer.² First of all, it distinguishes sharply between morale in a democracy and morale in a totalitarian state. The latter is defined as uniformitarian, tribalistic, regressive. Eleven unique characteristics of democratic morale are cited: voluntary, wholehearted participation, respect for personality, equality of rights, economic self-respect and social status, majority rule, representative and evocative leadership, tolerance, freedom of speech, utilizing the whole man, war as a last resort in self-defense, voluntary coordination of effort.

Then, there are some particulars in which democratic morale and totalitarian morale have resemblances. For instance, both rely on slogans, both must face fatigue and lassitude to combat, suggestion and crowd psychology are used by both, demagoguery is generally used, and "temporary emotional frenzy" looks alike to both.

The criteria for testing democratic wartime morale that the book under review brings out are many, but only eight will be reproduced here. There is no significance to the

¹ This article is a review of *Civilian Morale*, Second Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, Goodwin Watson, editor, and published by Reynal & Hitchcock, New York, 1942, pp. xii+463. The Yearbook is a symposium on Civilian Morale by nineteen different authors.

² E. S. Bogardus, "National Morale," *Sociology and Social Research*, 25:203-12 (January-February, 1941).

order in which the points appear. They relate primarily to civilian morale rather than to soldier morale.

1. Democratic wartime morale depends on agreement among citizens "in respect to their convictions and values and the co-ordination of their efforts in attaining necessary objectives." This principle involves many points, such as "harmony between the values and aims of the individual and those of his group." To bring out this harmony in a democracy is difficult if contrary tendencies have been allowed in the past to flourish, if people have grown out of touch with each other, if they have been permitted to "outwit each other by clever propaganda," if they have engaged extensively in "the dishonest art of selling people something which it is against their interest to buy." If democracy has allowed these individualistic and antisocial practices to separate people and to cause widespread distrust, then democracy must, first of all, recover this lost ground before it can make great headway in a positive program of harmony building among its citizens.

Moreover, the harmony that lies at the heart of democratic morale involves the "whole" man and woman, and not merely the "segmentalized" person. Harmony is built out of wholeheartedness, not out of semienthusiasm, not out of reactions pestered with doubts about the cause or about the sincerity or the ability of the leadership.

2. Democratic wartime morale involves the clarity and the value of the war goals.³ Not only must their values be clear to everyone, but there must be depth of acceptance. They need to be seen as vital, as clear beyond quibble, and they must be accepted with thoroughgoing conviction.

3. Democratic wartime morale may be derived from "mutual resistance to external pressures, external dangers, external forces"; but this source resembles the origins that

³ To this end the writer has tried to make an analysis in his statement of thirty war and peace goals in "Toward Improved World Relations," *Sociology and Social Research*, 27:48-55 (September-October, 1942).

are set up by totalitarian leaders. The latter arouse morale by crying, "Wolf! Wolf!" and by vivid if not melodramatic portrayals of dangers. Democratic morale builders at times use this same method.

Democratic morale is more naturally based if it springs from "spontaneous inner sources of cohesion." If persons by their own common-sense reactions and reasoned conclusions leap to a unity of action, they represent a sound expression of morale. It may be added that a lasting peace is probably never based on fears and external dangers, but upon inner conclusions regarding the basic necessities of larger living.

4. Democratic wartime morale requires "an adequate time perspective." This time perspective has at least two dimensions. One reaches back into the past and is grounded in traditions. In the case of democratic morale, it would have to be grounded in democratic traditions or it will likely be insincere, and sooner or later recognized as hypocritical.

The other dimension extends into the future and involves hopes, expectations, and an understanding of goals. Democratic morale cannot be manufactured on a purely current circumstance or on the exigencies of the moment. It grows. It evolves. It is a process requiring time. Democratic morale in wartime is best when it is a natural expression of democracy in peacetime.

5. Democratic wartime morale involves laboring men and women, and particularly those in defense industries. For a worker to experience morale his work must be "intrinsically interesting and recognized as rendering needed service." The first goal involves psychological insight into the personality of the worker and an adjustment of worker to job on some more intrinsic basis than a high wage. The second goal calls for education through printed page and motion picture, showing the specific connections between particular jobs and needed services.

6. The laboring man's wartime as well as his peacetime morale depends in part on the "foremen, department managers, and others having direct supervision over workers." The attitudes of the working man are not entirely his reactions to pay and working hours. They reflect "the psychological satisfactions that come with recognition of and respect for his own personality, day by day, and hour by hour on the job." The quality of the supervision and the role that it plays in the workers' morale are commonly overlooked. Competence in technical supervision is not enough on the part of a foreman. There must also be a knowledge of and a respect for the intangible satisfactions that come from being treated as a human being if you are going to employ people to work for you in a democracy in wartime.

7. Along with this consideration must go another type of recognition, namely, "a fair statement of labor's viewpoint in the press." If the press ignores labor's viewpoints or mentions them only to condemn them, or ignores them entirely, or continually preaches an autocratic viewpoint toward labor, then morale will not be built soundly in a democracy in wartime, or peacetime either.

This point goes further. One of our authors suggests that antilabor extremists must be dissuaded from being "more interested in fighting labor than in winning the War for Democratic Survival."

Two sets of extremists in peacetime, antilabor extremists and anticapital extremists, do not add up to one set of unified patriots in wartime. Labor baiters among employers and racketeers among employees in peace do not spell unity in war. The best democracy morale in wartime comes from labor that has conducted itself democratically and from employers who have extended democracy throughout their business in peacetime.

8. In this same vein comes the point that sound democratic wartime morale will "provide such a control of

profits and prices and wages, as will demand approximate equality of sacrifice from all groups of life." If half a hundred million people in the United States feel that the wealthy are making "an approximate equality of sacrifice" which the half a hundred million are making, then the morale problem will lose much of its problem aspect. But if the half a hundred million people feel that a few are making millions of dollars out of the war and are getting ready to make more millions out of the peace that follows the war, then the morale problem becomes almost insuperable.

Democratic wartime morale boils down to a problem of relative equality of sacrifice on the part of all. It boils down to beliefs that as a result of the war democracy will be extended to more people in more countries than ever before. It boils down to beliefs that democracy will be extended further in our own economic and industrial life when the war ends than it has ever reached in the past. It boils down to beliefs that the war will lessen class distinctions and will do away with such resentment-provoking conditions as represented by the terms "haves" and "have-nots." It boils down to an increase in every phase of life of mutual aid, of good will, and of fair play.

THE WORLD VIEWED SOCIOLOGICALLY—V

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● SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS influence one another reciprocally, and war in its relation to other things is no exception unless it be in its dynamics of change. Family life shows at once the effects of voluntary or conscripted entrance into the several branches of the armed service. The places these men filled in industry are being taken over by younger or older men less liable to be called into military service, or, more significantly, by women. It is said that up to eighty per cent of the workers in industry could ultimately be replaced by women workers if the needs of the army should require it. Women who enter the WAACS and WAVES are in service that is more precisely military. Women are thus taking over responsibilities forced upon them by the war. They are at the same time gaining an emancipation that would have made their grandmothers gasp with amazement. Postwar readjustments promise to be of a serious nature.

The lavish spending in war production, rising indebtedness of the nation, increased taxation, buying of war bonds, control of credit, priorities in the purchase of materials, limitations on retail buying, rationing of foods, gasoline, and rubber, wage and price fixing remind us of the far-reaching economic consequences of war while the country is advancing toward totalitarian administration. Along with economic changes political bureaucracy, centralization, and concentration of power in Washington, D.C., become more manifest. Federal authority is sweeping the country to effect discipline and conservation little dreamed of a year ago.

Education also shows the effects of war. In colleges and universities upper division and graduate classes have lesser enrollment, although freshman and sophomore enrollment still holds strong, particularly in industrial centers where defense work is in progress. Colleges in communities less active in defense industry find themselves increasingly handicapped, although it has been the policy of those in charge of the selective service to allow college men to complete essential courses before taking them into the army. Many universities have altered their curricula to give a larger place to courses essential for military objectives.

Changes such as these, and many more, have been anticipated and are fairly uniform throughout the United States. To emphasize the reality of the situation, go out into any country town or smaller city and see how many young single men are in the shops or on the street; they are conspicuous by their absence. They are in some branch of the armed forces or in an essential war industry, or securing a speeded-up education for specialized service. And let us not forget that similar processes of change have been going on all over the world, and in some countries the way of life has been altered so greatly that hardships and sacrifices so far required in America appear negligible in contrast.

SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS alike have been turning to religion for a new source of strength and courage. During all wars, it is characteristic that people go back to the church, but the trend during the present war has surpassed expectations, and this is especially true of the armed forces. For some squadrons or companies, it has been remarked that from 70 to 85 per cent of the men have attended services regularly. At army camps, as another token of interest, the demand for Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish editions of the Bible exceeds the supply. Every

effort is made to satisfy all requests for a Bible, and the proportion of Bibles furnished army men exceeds the record of the last war. The chaplain of today specializes in religious service and instruction. His place in the army is that of an officer, with a new and deserved dignity for his function. All denominations are impartially supported in their work by the government, and the several denominations apparently serve in harmony for the welfare of all. Whatever the sacrifices and risks experienced at the battle fronts—Bataan, Corregidor, and all the rest—a number of chaplains will be there to share in the human costs of the war while rendering their unique service to comfort the men.

Why, after a generation of glib skepticism, do we have this remarkable boom in religion? There is nothing compulsory about church attendance for civilians or members of the armed forces. It is entirely voluntary. Is it because people realize that the standards we have been living by are phony, and a better way of life is needed if we are to have peace instead of war? In the search for new values, American men and women are turning to religion. After all, religion is a way of life. The soldier finds in religion something to counterbalance his training in war and sudden death. The civilian finds that life is enriched through religion. Religion can also motivate economic and political change in such manner as to promote democracy in American life.

THANKS TO THE technological revolution in the United States, our war production has increased 350 per cent since Pearl Harbor, but the shipbuilding industry claims honors with its increase of 700 per cent. The American system of manufacturing (featuring interchangeable parts) made possible the mass production of automobiles and many other articles, and the same system has now been adapted for the building of ships. The process has been further re-

financed by a certain ideology: to simplify design, and then to reduce the total number of man-hours that go into a ship, but use more man-hours at a time. The result is economy in man-hours and more speed. Interchangeable parts are made in factories that may be many miles apart. Such parts are brought together at the shipyards for welding and assembling. Ships take shape in a few hours. Recently it required only ten days to launch a cargo vessel. Destroyers, which are far more complex, are now being built in eight months instead of the twenty-seven or twenty-eight months formerly required. Technological revolution in the manufacturing and assembling of airplanes, tanks, guns, and other war essentials where the American system was already functioning has also speeded up these branches of production, but, up to the present war emergency, ships were all custom built and costly in time and man-hours. As our new ships race down the skidways on both coasts, the battle against transportation handicaps will gain in momentum. Americans are being warned against false pride over production, however, because production alone will not win the war.

UNDER HITLER'S REGIME, total war has meant the death of free enterprise in Germany and in subordinate countries. It has meant the enslavement of labor in all Axis-dominated countries. It is true that the United Nations need a degree of totalitarian planning and control in order to meet the Axis method of warfare, more in the sense of unity than anything else; but should it be necessary for the United States to suspend free enterprise for the duration? The symbol of free enterprise in American life is the small business man, and he is all too rapidly being forced out of existence. Not regimentation, but individual responsibility, private ingenuity, energy, and resourcefulness have made the American nation the most efficient in the world. During the present war, private initiative, en-

couraged by government subsidy, has been depended upon to speed up war production, but in this policy the administration has tended to favor huge industrial concerns and, through the priority system, to freeze out the small business man. Since the government cannot go on indefinitely taxing its own spending, original sources of income based on natural resources, free labor, and industry need to be safeguarded. Otherwise, the economic foundations of American liberty may become a victim of the war. We need discipline and unity in order to conduct war, but this does not mean that we need Hitler's type of regimentation. Overcentralization, bureaucratic control, and regimentation have produced the Germany of today; the United Nations, while opposing the Axis, should avoid falling into the same pit of political and economic weakness. There is also an international aspect to this problem: The trend of partiality toward big industry within a few powerful nations will further subordinate the weaker nations in international trade and jeopardize the peace.

RACES AND CULTURE

MAN'S MOST DANGEROUS MYTH: THE FALLACY OF RACE. By M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. xi+216.

The author attacks the race concept and marshals evidence from many directions to show that the idea of "race" represents one of the greatest, if not the greatest, "of the errors of our times, and the most tragic." He holds that the "race problem" in the United States has virtually produced a caste system within our democracy. He claims that the greatest number of defectives occurs "among the white peoples of the earth." He brings both biological and psychological evidence to bear against the "race" concept, and substitutes for it the term, ethnic group. He speaks a strong word in behalf of hybrid vigor and so-called race mixture even among races widely different in appearance and culture.

SOUTHWESTERN ARCHEOLOGY. By JOHN C. MCGREGOR. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1941, pp. x+403.

The author states as his aim—which he has happily attained—the preparation of an "organized framework upon which the individual interested in Southwestern Archeology may build."

Much of his material is little more than skeleton data and is doubtless in the form presented for students' study and elaboration. The "center" of Southwest culture has received the most careful attention, outlying cultures either omitted or given but brief consideration.

The first part of the book presents a general background with aims, methods, definitions, and classifications that would be useful in any archaeological work having to do with our Southwest. In the chapter on Dendrochronology, which is most interesting, the author credits Dr. A. E. Douglass of the University of Arizona with originating the idea of tree dating in an effort to show the effect of sunspot activity on climate. Dr. Douglass discovered the great patterns of tree rings and later, the method of matching from trees of different ages so that he with his students and followers had carried a continuous absolute chronology back to 700 A.D. In March, 1935, through the finding of a charcoal fragment which could be deciphered, the gap between an earlier series and the one ending with 700 was filled and the record carried back to the first century. Through this lucky find many of the outstanding ruins of the Southwest have been dated.

Another chapter is devoted to a discussion of pottery. The author states that in tracing the origin and spread of traits, pottery is certainly the best indicator of such relationships.

Part II begins with a brief discussion of very ancient cultures and follows with chapters on the four generally accepted basic cultures of the Southwest—the Hohokam, the Mogollon, the Patayan, and the Basket-maker—Pueblo culture.

The book is of great interest to the layman as well as the student. Any one who has pored over *Southwestern Archeology* can never again be indifferent to an arrow point or a fragment of pottery or even to a tree ring.

E. P. MANGOLD

THE WORLD IN TURMOIL. Proceedings of the Institute of World Affairs. Nineteenth Session. Los Angeles: The University of Southern California, 1942, pp. x+315.

The papers and panel summaries presented at The Mission Inn, Riverside, California, December 7 to 12, 1941, are grouped in such manner as to deal with countries and problems of the Western Hemisphere, Europe, The Youth of the World, The Far East, and Planning for the Postwar World.

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII, Vol. VII. Honolulu: Sociology Club, University of Hawaii, 1941, pp. 58.

The standard of the earlier volumes in this series is maintained. The materials for this issue were in type before "Pearl Harbor," and have been changed but slightly. The leading article is written by Professor Andrew W. Lind. It treats of the types of social movements in Hawaii, such as the missionary movement, movements subsidiary to the missionary developments, nationalistic movements, for example, the Korean nationalistic movement, and a few nativistic uprisings. Dr. Romanzo Adams analyzes population trends. Bernhard Harman discusses military, naval, and civilian morale in Hawaii. The effects of increased income of defense workers is handled by Miss Yukiko Kimura. Drinking, gambling, and other forms of vice have greatly increased among defense workers. When people experience a change of environment and suffer a loss of family and neighborhood controls, without any new controls being developed, the results are disastrous. The problem is one for the community to solve.

E.S.B.

TABOO: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY. By HUTTON WEBSTER. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1942, pp. xii+393.

This scholarly work, without pretending to be exhaustive, organizes the findings of a vast literature on taboos as contributed through the years by anthropologists and sociologists. The data are organized around such topics as the reproductive life and sex problems, attitudes toward death, the stranger, sacred persons and things, sin and ritual defilement, economic and social aspects of taboos. The main concern of the author, as he says, "has been to show or try to show how important a place taboos hold in the cultural evolution of mankind."

J.E.N.

EVE'S STEPCHILDREN. Edited by LEALON N. JONES. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1942, pp. 310.

This book on American folk life contains twenty-eight selected essays and narratives by twenty-six different authors. Simplicity, integrity, and graphic portrayal of unsophisticated life are general characteristics of the collection, although the selection entitled "Chicago" is an exception for its sophistication. Among the folk types presented are the mountaineer, sharecropper, timberman, oil man, city tenement dweller, and small farmer. The range of traits in folk culture includes songs or chants, storytelling, fox hunting, the horning of cattle, unusual ritual and church life, Indian corn dance, rattlesnake religion of whites in Kentucky, and various arts and crafts. The authors have skillfully used dialect and vernacular in order to enhance realism. As a whole, the collection is a delightful contribution to American folk literature.

J.E.N.

CULTURE OF A CONTEMPORARY RURAL COMMUNITY, EL CERRITO, NEW MEXICO. By OLEN LEONARD and C. P. LOOMIS. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1941, pp. 72.

A CAMERA REPORT ON EL CERRITO, a typical Spanish-American Community in New Mexico. By IRVING RUSINOW. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1942, pp. 136.

In the unique village of El Cerrito the investigators found people whose ways have not changed much from the customs of a hundred years ago in the same locality. These are Spanish Americans who look askance at all Anglo-Americans. The document has one major lack, namely, a statement of population facts about El Cerrito and the people in this culturally enclaved community. In the *Camera Report* eighty-one superb photographs depict the people and life in El Cerrito.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN HANDBOOK, 1942 EDITION. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1942, pp. 696.

The new Nineteenth Edition of this well-known and widely used *Handbook* maintains the high standards of the past volumes. It has been revised throughout, particularly with reference to statistical data and thus is brought up to date in its wide range of factual information. It is not clear, however, why there should be a decline in the population figures for Brazil or for Buenos Aires when comparisons are made with the Seventeenth Edition, published in 1940. Not only South America is covered but also Central America, Mexico, and Cuba. The *Handbook* is equally valuable to the business man and the traveler.

ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA, THE RISE OF GROUP PREJUDICE DURING THE DECADE 1930-1940. By DONALD S. STRONG. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, pp. vi+191.

The author points out that on an average about a dozen anti-Semitic organizations have been formed each year in the United States since 1933. He describes seven sets of conditions under which anti-Semitic ideology develops. A list of 121 separate anti-Semitic organizations in the United States is given and eleven receive attention in eleven chapters respectively. These include the German-American Bund, Silver Shirts, Father Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice and the Christian Front, American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, the Paul Reveres, Industrial Defense Association. Fortunately for the Jews, these 121 organizations present no united front. The contents of the book are factual and descriptive, and the data are presented impersonally.

BOSTON'S IMMIGRANTS 1790-1865, A Study in Acculturation. By OSCAR HANDLIN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941, pp. xviii+287.

In this historical treatise a wide range of facts has been culled from many sources. The author describes the coming of Irish immigrants to Boston prior to 1865 and tells how they suffered unemployment, bad housing conditions, pauperism, alcoholism, sickness. Moreover, they were not received into Boston's social life, and hence developed a group consciousness of their own and a coherent identity. They were wary of Protestant assistance "that too often masked proselytization with the guise of benevolence." They developed their own institutions, the Catholic Church, parochial schools, newspapers. Conflicts developed between the

native Bostonians and the Irish immigrants when the Irish achieved a position of political importance. The result was a community divided against itself.

The sociologist misses a discussion of attitudes of the immigrants, personality problems due to social change, the effects on the family life of the Irish immigrants as a result of living in Boston, problems of assimilation and acculturation. However, the author makes a substantial contribution to historical knowledge regarding immigration. His work is scholarly, clearly written, interesting, and vital.

E.S.B.

THE NATIVE LABOR PROBLEM OF SOUTH AFRICA. By J. W. TINLEY. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942, pp. xx+281.

This piece of research deals with "the wider economic and social aspects of the farm labor problem," the economic development of South Africa, and "the impact of a modern wage and monetary economy upon the primitive economy of tribal life." The sociologist will be particularly interested in Chapter IV on "Social and Cultural Factors." Four so-called races are in contact, namely, European (English and Boer), Native (Bantus), Asiatic (chiefly of East Indian descent), and Colored (descendants of Hottentots and Bushmen on one hand and Europeans on the other). The situation is complicated by the fact that one of the minority groups (the European) is in control and that the majority group (natives) are subordinate. One of the author's conclusions is that the "Europeans have taken much away from natives and, so far, have given little in return." The various major occupations are reviewed in some detail. These are: agriculture, mining, manufacturing, transportation and commerce, government, and domestic service. Important chapters appear on the wage policies, taxation policies, agricultural subsidies, and health of the native laborers.

One problem relates to the fact that the wages paid to native labor are "only a fraction of those paid to Europeans," and to the policy of maintaining "European labor on a very superior level in comparison with Natives." Another problem arises out of the fact that the majority group "has no direct voice in the government of the Union of South Africa." Further, the natives are too aware of the benefits of higher civilization to accept anything less. Moreover, there are many laws which place the natives in "a position of permanent inferiority to the white man." The factual presentation of data chiefly economic is the strong point of this book. Bases are thereby laid for sociological research and observations.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL WORK

EDUCATION FOR THE PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICES. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942, pp. 324.

Professional training in social work had its origin in the days prior to the phenomenal expansion of the public welfare agencies in the 1930's, with the result that its motivation, practices, and philosophies tended to spring from the field of private agencies. The American Association of Schools of Social Work sponsored the present report of a study committee which had as its primary objective the determination of how these schools were adapting themselves to the needs of those public welfare activities included in the federal social security program.

The findings come out strongly in favor of the need for professional social work training for all these activities and indicate that the schools are attempting to meet these needs in public assistance and child welfare, but not in old age insurance, unemployment compensation, and the employment service. There is some indication of a reluctance to recognize the variation in the needs of the public services as compared with the traditional practices of private agencies.

Your reviewer, as a generalist in public administration, cannot help feeling that leadership in the public welfare field will devolve upon those who develop the qualities needed to survive in public life. Among these is the ability to get along with elective officials while at the same time achieving a reasonably high standard of accomplishment. Typical tasks include "selling" merit systems to county officials who may be lukewarm toward such innovations, and seeing that 3,000,000 social security accounts are properly maintained. Professional social workers must demonstrate their ability to do these things if they are to constitute the directing personnel in public welfare. There seems to be no reason why the schools cannot meet these needs; but the skills utilized may at times seem remote from traditional private agency practice.

JOHN M. PFIFFNER

TRAINING FOR SKILL IN SOCIAL CASE WORK. Edited by VIRGINIA P. ROBINSON. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942, pp. 126.

The Pennsylvania School of Social Work is characterized by a pattern of training based on two fundamental premises: "first, the conviction that practice rather than knowledge content determines the focus in cur-

riculum building. . . . second, the belief that skill growing out of practice in order to achieve professional status must have a generic base underlying its expression in specific situations." The two-year curriculum in social case work rests on a "practice unit" made up of a class in case work, a class in "Personality," and practice in a social agency; to this is added other curriculum content from social work and related fields. This volume describes the two-year practice unit as it is in use in this School in 1941-42.

In the first paper, "The Meaning of Skill" by Dr. Robinson, the case worker's skill is seen as "skill in setting up and controlling a process in which change may take place in a human being." "An understanding of human resistance to change and an appreciation of an individual's right to refuse any efforts directed at changing him" are recognized as perhaps the most fundamental and necessary basis for the development of such skill. The reality of the social agency and its defined, limited service to clients provide the situation in which professional roles can be defined, professional relationships sustained, and this task of effective change made possible.

The three parts of the practice unit are described separately in order to show what is carried on in the personality class, what in the practice class, and how the classroom work and field work are held together. The case work class is designed to help the student toward a "steadily deepening comprehension of functional case work," with emphasis on the client, the agency, the professional goal; the personality class is geared to the need of the student himself and is the focus for the personal change which the student undergoes during his training experience. The "true completion" of the personality case-work teaching unit is the thesis seminar in the last semester, in which the student gives "proof of his professional competence in a presentation of his practice as it is."

Two papers, by Jessie Taft and Kenneth L. M. Pray, are included in this volume for the clarification which they contribute to the concepts of "function," "process," and "the service agency." The whole is a vivid presentation of professional training for social work as conceived by the Pennsylvania School of Social Work, and merits thoughtful study by all who are interested in professional education.

RUBY STRAND INLOW

SOCIAL THEORY

THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES IN A CHANGING WORLD. By FREDERICK BRANOM. New York: W. H. Saidler, Inc., 1942, pp. ix+338.

This book is full of suggestions for teachers of the social studies in secondary schools and in elementary schools. Methods are emphasized. The materials have been gathered from years of experience of the author and of others and put together in a handy volume. They deal with such items as using community resources, the place of textbooks, audio-visual aids, maps, pictures, activities, dramatization, tests in the social studies. The dangers in each method as well as the advantages are analyzed with care. Selected references are given for each major topic. Problems for discussion and research are included. The treatment is concrete, to the point, and clear. The author is objective and nondogmatic. The book is almost a compendium; at least, it is a compact handbook. Some college teachers of social studies could advantageously consult this treatise on methods.

OUR CHANGING SOCIETY, ITS SOCIAL, CIVIC, AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. By PAUL H. LANDIS. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1942, pp. xx+488.

This up-to-date textbook for use in senior high school classes is divided into three parts, twelve teaching units, and thirty-three chapters. Part I deals with the conditions creating social problems; Part II, with social, economic, and political problems; and Part III (one chapter only), with harnessing social forces for the improvement of social life. The conditions creating social problems are given as: (1) rapid change in culture and social relationships, (2) urbanization, (3) movement, (4) waste of natural resources, and (5) extensive modifications of the characteristics of our population. The author varies greatly from current sociological thinking when he denominates the five sets of conditions as "social forces." It may be that the real social forces underlie these five social conditions. The problems of society are each treated briefly in a total of twenty-four chapters organized into seven teaching units. The choice of problems is well made and comprehensive. There are brief but numerous helps for the teacher and pupil. An unusually large number of attractive photographs, as well as interesting charts and pertinent pictographs, supplement the succinct topical discussions. A glossary of 200 terms is a useful addition.

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF ANIMALS. By W. C. ALLEE. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., pp. 253.

In this remarkable discussion the author, a zoologist, presents some of the results of many years of experimentation on the group life of many kinds of animal life. As a result, the reader sees "a gradual development of social attributes suggesting a sub-stratum of social tendencies" that extends far and wide among animals. Dr. Allee advances the hypothesis of the functioning "of an underlying pervasive element of unconscious co-operation, or automatic tendency toward mutual aid among animals." This general principle of automatic cooperation he calls one of "the fundamental biological principles." This "automatic mutualism extends far down among the simpler plants and animals."

THE UNFINISHED TASK: ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION FOR DEMOCRACY. By LEWIS COREY. New York: The Viking Press, 1942.

The author points out the dangers of "statism" as it threatens democracy. He constantly reiterates his theme that economic and political affairs must be separated. He points to the identity of interests of what he defines as "functional groups," that is, management, labor unions, independent business, the farmers, and professional groups. His program is definite, but he warns that it cannot be final in view of constant change.

What is his plan of "economic reconstruction for democracy"? It is a "constitutional economic order in large-scale industry, in which management, labor unions, and the state are assigned definite but limited rights and powers that check and balance one another in democratic functional cooperation." Dr. Corey presents a detailed picture of the provisions of his plan, a basic phase of which is the democratization of monopolies into public corporations with the goal, not profit, but maximum production for human welfare. He also points to the need for "a science and a morality of administration—animated by democratic attitudes and respect for personality." He believes in the value of small businesses, consumer organizations, and cooperatives and free ownership of farms. Competition which shall be safeguarded to insure its being "fair," free enterprise, and free markets are essential aspects of the plan.

There is a frank facing of possible criticism that "there is too much complexity and diversity in the projected free economic order." Dr. Corey calls attention to the fact that complexity and diversity are characteristic of the economic conditions of the times. "The alternative is totalitarian 'simplicity.' No economic order can be free unless it is a workable pluralism of different types of enterprise and a democratic mix-

ture of institutional, collective, and personal freedom. Freedom calls for unity within diversity and diversity within unity. It calls for a system that gets things done while it promotes independence and individualism; that grants authority to make decisions and to act while it sets up checks and balances to prevent authoritarian usurpation of power." What is needed is to make "minimum changes." Both economic democracy and political democracy are necessary, but they must be separated. There should be a limitation upon the number of administrative agencies and decentralization "within the necessary centralization." "Freedom calls for a limited-power state. It calls for the diversification and decentralization of economic and political power to promote the self-activity of the community and its institutions." Three important principles in a "functional democracy" are "functional diversity, cooperation and balance." Functions must be specific, localized, and limited.

B.A.MCC.

SOCIAL CAUSATION. By R. M. MACIVER. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1942, pp. 414.

This is the second volume of the "Social Science Series" of Columbia University under the editorship of Dr. MacIver. It is a serious attempt to discover what the concept of causation signifies in the social sciences. The author concludes that the phenomena of the social sciences present a "causal process differentiated in significant respects from the causality of external nature." The initial difference is the "socio-psychological nexus." Its basis is a "scheme of values." These values rest either in personality or in the culture of a group. They are the dynamic factors which must be understood to appreciate causal relationships in the social sciences. Changes in "assessment" are reflected in "historical events, statistical facts, social trends and movements of various kinds, institutions and institutional complexes, and the various unpurposed resultants of social behavior." MacIver names his leading concept "dynamic assessment" and says that Thomas' concept "the definition of the situation" approximates his own.

In any social research designed to inquire into cause, the process of delineation is most important. The methods employed in the verification of a hypothesis of social causation are of two types: (1) statistical, for the purpose of identifying the phenomenon and its association with other types of phenomena; (2) interviews for gathering the statements of persons indicating attitudes and their observed overt acts. The explanation is related both to personality and to the cultural complex of the group to which the person or persons belong. "Sympathetic reconstruction of the

situation" by the observer utilizing the data obtained by the above methods is essential. Social life and all of its manifestations are dynamic, and therefore in any attempt to understand "human nature and its works" the conclusion must always be approximate and "causal knowledge" may be approached but never reached.

B.A.MCC.

SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION: SECOND SYMPOSIUM.

New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, Inc., 1942, pp. xv+559.

The papers presented at the Second Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion, at Columbia University in September, 1941, with comments, are reproduced in this volume. Most of these papers are either direct products of group discussions or have been modified by group criticism, and hence are unusually matured in thought.

The exact aims of the Conference are nowhere explicitly stated. In general, however, the papers consider the relation to the democratic way of life of a variety of disciplines, with particular reference to the present crisis. The natural and social sciences, philosophy and jurisprudence, art and literature, and religion are examined for their contributions to the clarification of the conception of democracy. In each case several points of view are offered, although some are notably absent.

The entire discussion appears to have been guided by a sincere desire to find points of working agreement. The volume is unique in the variety of its approaches, the number of noted contributors, the freedom from passion, the avoidance of technicalities, the clarity and succinctness of the presentations, and the high degree of agreement expressed.

RALPH HERBERT TURNER

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY. By LAWRENCE GUY BROWN. New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1942, pp. xii+595.

The editor says that the study of social disorganization has passed through two stages and that this book exemplifies the third in that it presents an analysis of the various aspects of personal and social disorganization in terms of a consistent interrelated framework.

After presenting, in Part I, his method of analyzing the field of social pathology, the writer follows with periods of disorganization, types of personal disorganization, and social disorganization. Each of the personal problems is studied according to the framework as outlined in the first part of the book. The four aspects presented are human nature, the organic heritage, social heritage, and unique experiences. The interaction

of these factors leads to normal or pathological conditions. Owing to the inevitable result of the complex processes that make up the personality of the individual, no person is either wholly adequate or wholly inadequate. The unifying principles that explain personal organization and disorganization are set forth under thirty-three heads. They are respected by the author as laws in social psychology. In similar fashion a series of unifying principles applying to social organization is presented. As far as seems necessary, these principles are applied in the discussion of the family, education, religion, the press, war, and other subjects.

Little attempt is made by the author to outline a program of immediate improvement. His concern is largely with the processes of interaction that have yielded the pathologies or disorganizations. It is the "long-run" point of view that is emphasized. This, of course, is both important and fundamental. In developing programs of action that may produce ameliorative results, the book gives but little aid. A certain degree of positiveness might have been tempered to good effect. However, the book is a unique contribution to the literature on the subject.

G.B.M.

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. By HARRY ELMER BARNES and OREEN RUEDL. New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1942, pp. xxxv+802.

This is an analysis of American social problems viewed against their historical background and interpreted in terms of the effects of the current war. The book embraces a wide range of topics, such as the industrial revolution and subsequent economic discord, the social framework of human life, waste in American life and conservation efforts, population problems, political and legal problems, the revolution in transportation and communication, prejudice and propaganda, censorship and the suppression of ideas, the revolution in rural life and the process of urbanization, changes in the family, poverty and crime, and the problems of economic and social reconstruction. As is true of most books covering such a comprehensive field, the material is somewhat spotty. However, as is true of most of Barnes' books, the material shows an amazing grasp of the problems under consideration. The facts are stated objectively, concisely, and systematically, with pertinent illustrations and graphic presentations.

The current war and world changes are affecting American life in every way, producing institutional changes and creating new social problems. This is undoubtedly the most critical and dynamic period in human history, and this book is timely and valuable in that the underlying currents of our changing civilization are analyzed.

M.H.N.

LITERATURE FOR INDIVIDUAL EDUCATION. By ESTHER RAUSHENBUSH. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. xi+262.

PSYCHOLOGY FOR INDIVIDUAL EDUCATION. By LOIS BARCLAY MURPHY, EUGENE LERNER, JANE JUDGE, and MADELEINE GRANT; edited by ESTHER RAUSHENBUSH. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. xii+306.

TEACHING THE INDIVIDUAL. By RUTH MONROE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. x+353.

These three volumes present aspects of the attempt at Sarah Lawrence College to adjust the educational program to the needs of the individual student. The first book reports application of this approach to the teaching of literature, broadly conceived. Reactions and problems of students are analyzed in terms of their personalities and backgrounds, through case records.

The second work similarly describes the teaching of psychology, though more from a subject-matter standpoint than from the student point of view. The courses are flexibly organized about questions and interests of the students, drawing freely from literature in related fields and utilizing direct observation techniques. Emphasis is on the personality as a whole, through detailed case studies.

Teaching the Individual "attempts an analysis of psychological factors in the learning process . . .," as seen in detailed records of individual girls. The individual treatment of common educational problems is explained, and an approach to analysis in terms of "syndromes" is suggested.

RALPH HERBERT TURNER

COOPERATION: THE DOMINANT ECONOMIC IDEA OF THE FUTURE. By HENRY A. WALLACE. New York: Cooperative League, pp. 16.

In this reprinted document, taken from the author's *Whose Constitution?* the Vice-President declares in a keynote sentence that "the only way in which democracy can survive the logical onslaught of the dictator-state aspect of Communism and Fascism is to develop the genuine cooperative ideal to the limit. . . . The cooperative way of life must pervade the community, and this means that there must be consumers' cooperatives as well as producers' cooperatives."

SOCIAL WELFARE

PROBLEMS OF A CHANGING SOCIAL ORDER. By JOHN M. GILLETTE and JAMES M. REINHARDT. New York: American Book Company, 1942, pp. xxxi+824.

The outline, problems treated, and the method of presentation of material are similar to those in the previous edition, but the present revision has a new title, the data are brought up to date, and improvements have been made throughout the book. It is one of the best texts on social problems.

After an introductory discussion of the nature of social problems, the material deals with the problems of adjustment to nature, population changes, and the conditions of wealth and income; health and mental efficiency; race relations, nativity conditions, and immigration; the family, mating, and child welfare; and significant problems of general social control. The emphases may be misleading unless the material is analyzed in its larger context. For instance, in the chapter on the American villages, the chief problem stressed is the decline among villages. Certain villages are declining, while others, especially the larger villages, are growing, and each decade some people move into the town category and no longer are classed as villagers. The rural nonfarm population is growing faster than the urban population, owing in part to the fact that cities are spreading out beyond their boundaries. M.H.N.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND URBAN AREAS. By CLIFFORD R. SHAW and HENRY D. MCKAY. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. 446. A Behavior Research Fund monograph.

The subtitle indicates the scope of the book, "A study of rates of delinquents in relation to differential characteristics of local communities in American cities." The cities include Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Richmond, Columbus, Birmingham, Little Rock, Denver, Minneapolis, Seattle, Portland, Spokane, Tacoma, Evansville, Peoria, Omaha, Baltimore, St. Paul, and Vancouver, B.C. In this book, chapters are written by Norman S. Hayner, Paul G. Cressey, Clarence W. Schroeder, T. Earl Sullenger, Earl R. Moses, and Calvin F. Schmid. The Introduction is by Ernest W. Burgess. The volume is copiously illustrated by maps. Many statistical tables are used and some case material, particularly in Chapter VII on "Differences in Social Values and Organization among Local Communities."

The conclusions are significant. 1. The ecological distribution of juvenile delinquents is related both to the physical structure and to the social organization of the city. 2. Juvenile delinquency is concentrated in the center of the city and thins out toward the periphery. 3. It is correlated with many factors such as population change, bad housing, poverty, race and cultural background, tuberculosis, adult crime, and mental disorders. In other words, no one causal explanation is adequate. All factors must be taken into account and community organization thus becomes vital, including the rehabilitation of the slum areas.

The concluding chapter presents the "Chicago Area Project," a plan of neighborhood organization now functioning in six areas in which "the physical structure is unfavorable" and "the economic status of the inhabitants is low." The data point to the essential role of community organization in a program of both social treatment and prevention as opposed to the earlier overemphasis on individual treatment. Certainly these two approaches must supplement each other as the sociologist has been insisting for many years.

B.A.MCC.

BARRIERS TO YOUTH EMPLOYMENT. By PAUL T. DAVID. Washington: American Council on Education, 1942, pp. x+110.

Four conspicuous obstacles restrict the employment of youth: (1) entrance requirements for certain occupations, (2) practice of seniority, (3) governmental restrictions upon child labor and youth employment, and (4) state and federal minimum wage laws. The study reported herein undertook to show how these factors operated, how important they were as barriers, and what might be done to facilitate youth employment by revising some of the policies and practices in connection with the four factors. It is a part of a larger study already revealed in the general report of the American Youth Commission, *Youth and the Future*. Results of the study indicated that a general attitude of indifference toward the problem of youth employment operated as an underlying cause. As long as adults were employed, youth might take care of itself. Mr. David believes that this attitude should undergo a change, concluding that increased opportunities for youth through some lifting of the barriers would not reduce too much the opportunities for adults. The question of merit and ability enters into the situation as do a great many other factors. It is difficult to arrive at any final decision other than to note that it is and has been essential that some youths find greater advantages. Governmental subsidies for higher educational training would do much toward a solution of the problem in normal times.

M.J.V.

THE PROBLEM OF COOPERATIVE MEDICINE. By V. J. TERESHTENKO, Project Supervisor. New York: Edward A. Filene Goodwill Fund, 1942, pp. 80.

This is a slightly revised edition of a document that first appeared in 1940 and that deals with the cooperative medicine movement by the topical and discussion method.

CO-OPS. By LESLIE A. HART. Pittsburgh: Western Pennsylvania Council of Consumer Cooperatives, 1942, pp. 10.

A reprint of ten short articles from the *Amalgamated Journal*. The author has done unusually well in presenting in a brief space the elements of consumers' cooperation in an understandable way to the people not yet informed about the real meaning of consumers' cooperatives.

HOUSING FOR HEALTH. Committee on the Hygiene of Housing of American Public Health Association. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Science Press Printing Co., 1941, pp. 221.

This series of papers covers such subjects as health centers, housing codes, the health interest in housing projects, family life in relation to home planning, and the social effects of good housing. One paper interprets the recent Memphis housing surveys and points to the need of subsidies as a partial answer to the slum problem. Appendix A presents the "Basic Principles of Healthful Housing." These principles deal particularly with physiological and psychological needs and protections against disease and accidents.

G.B.M.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY IN MYSORE. By M. N. SRINIVAS. Bombay: New Book Co., 1942, pp. 218.

Written originally as a master's thesis at Bombay University, this book describes cultural traits relating to marriage and family that are found in the Indian state of Mysore. In this state the great majority belong to the Hindu castes which are discussed under the terms, Brahman and non-Brahman. The proportionate distribution of these two groups is not given, and, since their customs vary considerably from each other, the prevalence of particular practices is somewhat uncertain. For example, the Brahman widow may not remarry, but the non-Brahman widow is allowed to do so. But how shall we know how many there are of each?

Among the subjects covered are: bride price, marriage restrictions, marriage rites, pregnancy, death ceremonies, mothers-in-law, and the position of women. These subjects are approached inductively and are illustrated with concrete statements of actual practices. The publicity attached to various rites relating to the sex aspects of life would be shocking to Western culture, and the superstitions that still control conduct would be most alarming but for the fact that, as the author says, "the culture of this community is now waking up from its sleep of centuries." However, the degradation of women, the misery of widows, superstitions, and primitive rites and ceremonies thought to have magic powers still remain to handicap the upward movement of the people.

G.B.M.

AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR. By WILLIAM B. BROWN, MAXWELL S. STEWART, and WALTER E. MYER. New York: Silver Burdette Company, 1942, pp. xiii+328.

The chief objective of this book is to help students to realize more clearly the big job of winning the war and the peace that must follow. The four main questions of importance right now are: "For What Are We Fighting Today? How Can This War Be Won? What Can Each of Us Do to Help? What Can Be Done to Make an Enduring and Just Peace after the War?" More concretely, the authors endeavor to present material which may serve as a basis for answering the questions: How we obtained our American democracy, what it means, the relation of America to the larger world, its policies in World War II, the changing strategy of modern warfare, the organization of our military setup, our resources, industrial mobilization, and civilian participation.

M.H.N.

RECREATION AND DELINQUENCY. By ERNEST W. BURGESS, ETHEL SHANAS, and CATHERINE E. DUNNING. Chicago Recreation Commission, 1942, pp. vii+284.

This is an intensive study of recreation and delinquency in five selected Chicago communities, under the supervision of Ernest W. Burgess, chairman of the Committee on Recreation and Juvenile Delinquency, and directed by Ethel Shanas, with the collaboration of Catherine E. Dunning through projects of the Work Projects Administration. The factual statement covers some 23,000 youth, 15,000 boys and 8,000 girls, ten to seventeen years of age. The investigations sought to find answers to three questions: "How great is the appeal of recreational activities to boys and

girls, delinquent and non-delinquent? Does supervised recreation help in the treatment and prevention of juvenile delinquency and if so how much? What should be done to provide more wholesome recreation and to reduce juvenile delinquency?" No conclusive answers were obtained, but it was found that more supervised recreation is provided for boys than for girls; that boys over fourteen do not attend recreational agencies as extensively as do the younger ones; that delinquents do not take part in supervised recreation in as large proportion as nondelinquents, but that they attend movies more frequently; that in the high delinquency neighborhoods children were particularly fond of radio crime and mystery stories, while those in the neighborhood with the lower delinquency rate preferred comedy and variety programs; and, on the basis of the findings, the investigators conclude that "participation in supervised recreation reduces delinquency."

One may conclude that these findings are in accord with what has been generally believed, but it must be said that no factual study of equal proportion has ever been made. It took months of effort to gather and tabulate the material. The chief recommendations are: more supervised recreation should be provided in all neighborhoods, particularly for girls; a special effort should be made to reach and to hold the older boys; recreational agencies must adapt their programs so as to appeal to delinquents, with individualized treatment for unofficial delinquents; and all agencies and institutions are urged to study the findings with the view of devising practical ways of meeting the delinquency and recreation problems.

M.H.N.

CRIMINOLOGY. By DONALD R. TAFT. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942, pp. xii+708.

The author professes five aims: he has collected and interpreted the more important data about crime and its causes; he gives a definite cultural emphasis; he makes a synthetic approach; he tries to harmonize the views of the criminologist with those of practical administrators of penal policies; he endeavors to show that criminal behavior can be changed "into less criminal behavior by understanding the experiences and attitudes of criminals themselves."

The book is two books in one, for fifteen chapters deal with criminology, while two chapters are given over to penology. Four chapters are added on the treatment of juvenile offenders (without going into the causal factors), and three more chapters relate to the prevention of crime (which includes the prevention of delinquency).

The chapter entitled "Crime as a Product of American Culture" develops the idea that a complex, materialistic culture in which people admire the winners of a bitter, competitive struggle and which permits those who fail in greedy conflicts to collect in slums tends to produce just about the criminals that we have in America. Where premiums are put upon gambling and other tricky devices to get something for nothing and to rob large numbers of people by monopolistic schemes, a disastrous harvest of criminals is to be expected.

In his discussions on treatment of adult and juvenile offenders, Dr. Taft repeatedly raises the question: How shall offenders in institutions be trained? Shall they be trained to succeed, when released, in a hard-hearted, competitive social life, or shall they be trained to participate helpfully in a community life where cooperation exercises control over competition? This is a thought-provoking book for people who are willing to have their thoughts provoked, and who really love America.

E.S.B.

TRAINING VOLUNTEERS FOR RECREATION SERVICE. Prepared by
GEORGE D. BUTLER. New York: The National Recreation Association,
1942, pp. ix+56.

This manual, designed for the training of volunteers in recreation service, comes at an opportune time. Recreation is needed in wartime, but both public and private agencies find it difficult to carry on without volunteer help. A course of training is outlined, with examples given of courses offered in some of the strategic centers.

INTERVIEWING: ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS. By ANNETTE
GARETT. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1942,
pp. 123.

The first part contains seven chapters, which review the art of interviewing, the interviewer's attitudes, the purposes of interviewing, how to interview, and some of the essential conditions of good interviewing. These topics are well handled in brief space. While most of the points have been presented elsewhere by sociologists about ten or fifteen years ago, it is interesting to have them rediscovered by social workers today. The second part of the book is unique and especially helpful in that nine excerpts from case studies of interviewing are presented. In each instance the author calls attention to the ways in which the skill of the interviewer is exhibited. The treatment is concrete and practical, and many helpful suggestions have been packed into a small number of pages.

SOCIAL FICTION

THE JUST AND THE UNJUST. By JAMES GOULD COZZENS. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1942, pp. 434.

While this new novel records the story of a murder trial that takes place in a small American town named Childerstown, it also succeeds in giving an admirable picture of the activities of the citizens of the community, some substantial and some otherwise. During the course of the trial of the gangsters who have thrust themselves into the otherwise placid existence of the life of the town, the events of that trial tend to touch the lives of many of Childerstown's citizens. And so they become subjected to some penetrating glances. Essentially, the protagonist is young Abner Coates, whose grandfather and father were distinguished in the law and politics of the community. Abner is slated for advancement from assistant district attorney to the headship of that office. But he has never cultivated a friendliness toward Jesse Gearhart, the local political boss who makes and unmakes candidates. District Attorney Bunting, who is grooming Abner for his place, has to give him a bit of solid advice on how to obtain a political office if you really want one. "If he does something for you, you do something for him. . . . If you went into the primaries and tried to get the nomination on your own, do you know what you'd get? About twenty write-ins." And that is Mr. Cozzens' summary of the way things sometimes go in American politics—nothing cynical about his reporting here, just matter of fact. How the politics of Mr. Gearhart enters into the schools through a local school scandal is another little masterpiece of insight.

Excellent portrayals of the two local judges are given during the action of the trial, and much attention has been drawn to the law exercised in the case. The reader's interest is highly sustained by the dramatic moments of suspense created by the author. Then there is Harry Wurts, the defense counsel, whose idea of justice is his own creation and who delights in swaying juries to his own point of view. The recitation of the history of the murder gives author Cozzens a field holiday in which to trot out all the folkways and mores of a typical eastern American community. Here he shows what goes on in the homes of the rich and the poor, in the business offices and stores, in the courts and law offices, in the roadside inns, and on the public highways. Not all the unjust are on trial or in jail. If one is tired of reading novels whose authors have reforms in mind, try this one, for it points out with careful and judicious restraint the virtues as well as the vices of some Americans.

M.J.V.

ALL AMERICAN. By JOHN R. TUNIS. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1942, pp. vii+205.

This is much more than the story of a great American sport. The story revolves around two schools, a private academy and a public high school, two football teams, and particularly around the personalities of three boys, two of whom could wear a label, for one is a Jew and the other a Negro. Ronald Perry, or Rooney as he is called, was a star on the Academy team when they beat the team of the Abraham Lincoln High, but the game was won in part because Rooney and a teammate put Meyer Goldman, a star player on the opposing team, out of the game "on purpose." When Rooney saw the consequences of the act, for Goldman was seriously injured, he was upset, declined the captaincy of his team, visited the hospital frequently, and finally left the Academy and transferred to Lincoln High, where he received cold treatment at the hands of the students. His own reactions to different academic standards and a close-up of conditions in present-day schools are presented.

The fall term opened in Lincoln High with a strong football team. Goldman was back; Ned LeRoy, a Negro, was there; and later Rooney was added to the team. Their victories resulted in an invitation from Miami High to play an intersectional game. This produced the greatest crisis of the story. The invitation was accepted, but LeRoy, being a Negro, could not go. Rooney and his pals protested vigorously against going to Miami unless LeRoy could go along. This precipitated an avalanche of protests, participated in by the townspeople and the newspapers as well as by the school group. Here we have a clear picture of a social conflict, occasioned by racial discrimination.

The final scene is in reality a description of crowd behavior. An assembly was called. The assembly room was packed, all eager to hear the final verdict. The principal announced that because of complications Miami High had canceled the game. The entire audience seethed with emotions. Disappointment was in evidence everywhere. Then a silence broke over the mass of students present. When quiet came again, the principal announced that the Oak Park High (Illinois) had challenged them to an intersectional game, the invitation had been accepted, and the whole team would go. A mighty outburst arose, "That's super, that is!"

As a sports story, it is intensely interesting. As a sociological novel, it pictures events, personal reactions, social processes, and social problems. It is a book with a message of great importance to fathers and mothers, boys and girls, teachers and leaders of public opinion in every community throughout the country. It has value as an instrument of democracy. Rooney typifies an "all American" in more ways than one.

M.H.N.